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ABSTRACT

This is the tenth annual issue of the UCLA TESL (teaching English as a second language) workpapers. It includes the following papers: (1) "An Attempt to Model the Role of Cognitions in Language Learning," by R.L. Allwright; (2) "A Comparison of Language Proficiency Tests," by J. Donald Bowen; (3) "Language Study Through Hypnosis," by Russell N. Campbell; (4) "On Understanding and Teaching the English Tense-Aspect System," by Marianne Celce-Murcia; (5) "ESL Teacher Speech as Input to the ESL Learner," by Diane Larsen-Freeman; (6) "Discourse Analysis, Speech Acts and Second Language Acquisition," by Evelyn Hatch; (7) "The Role of English in Africa," by John Povey; (8) "A Study of the English and Spanish of Spanish-Speaking Pupils in a Spanish Immersion School Program," by Sandra Plann and Arnulfo G. Ramirez; (9) "A Multi-Dimensional Display of Some TESL Activities in the Certificate Program," by Earl Rand; (10) "Second Language Acquisition: The Pidginization Hypothesis," by John H. Schumann; and (11) "English Teaching in Japan," by Kiyoshi Tajima. In addition, this volume includes the abstracts of 21 MATESL theses. Another paper included in the original collection, "A Humanistic Approach to Quality in Media," by James Heaton, has already been entered into ERIC. (CFM)

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WORKPAPERS

in Teaching English as a Second Language

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LANGUAGE

Volume X June 1976

University of California, Los Angeles

PREFACE

This is the tenth annual number of our UCLA TESL Department Workpapers. That number will surely seem to indicate a milestone in achievement for the material presented across a decade represents most substantial and continuing scholarship. Workpapers, as their name suggests, were conceived as a publication of "work in progress"; ideas, investigations, reports, and initial data that would announce on-going projects to attract reaction and comment during the stage when hypothesis was becoming thesis. Russ Campbell's intriguing speculations concerning language retention and hypnosis may be the best example of what was anticipated. Yet academics are rarely comfortable with printing unfinished work or inconclusive evidence. Increasingly, the essays submitted were further along the road of refinement; formal in their construct, often models of careful and original scholarship. For this reason, previous editions have been received with respect and appreciation within the profession. They gave evidence of the lively spirit of enquiry that stimulates our department and adds substantially to existing knowledge of many aspects of ESL theory and practice.

Looking back over the editor's preface to an earlier edition, I encountered an observation which clearly made virtue of necessity. "We no longer feel it is necessary to justify the diversity of content." There is equally no homogeneity to be anticipated in this latest volume. Its order, being deliberately alphabetical, exposes the most abject surrender of conceptual organization which reduces the editor a mere compiler in self-defense. No melting pot here. Yet one of the most marked strengths of this department has been its variety and pragmatism. There has been methodological freedom not only tolerated but encouraged. There have been no purges of the unorthodox, no restrictive single educational theology to which all must do obeisance such as has inhibited the free range of enquiry in some departments.

Inevitably, individual interests have become narrower and reputations develop upon specialization. This is evidenced throughout this collection. As could be anticipated scholars have gone more deeply into their own sections of our discipline. Earl Rand's increasingly complex utilization of the computer, Evelyn Hatch's concern with language acquisition, Marianne Celce-Murcia's application of formal linguistic theory to teaching and the socially important studies of bilingualism found in the report of Arnulfo Ramirez are evidence of this particularity. In a department such specialization is not so much fragmentation as rich diversity. It indicates that the discipline itself, exemplified by our faculty, necessarily draws broadly upon many fields of human study and demands the findings of many areas of intellectual specialization be cohered and adopted to the central question of effective language teaching and learning. More than most fields, TESL has at its core a very deep commitment to social and educational involvement. An element of service clearly directs these studies to the service of language learning at both the theoretical and the most practical levels.

The now customary abstracts of the M.A. theses of last year's students suggest how effectively the faculty have been able to inculcate in their

graduate students their own dedicated duality of fundamental research and practical involvement. Many of these theses are innovative contributions to the issues of TESL methodology and many offer most immediately useful advice to the teacher.

In exhibiting what is being achieved at UCLA we like to think that we are also demonstrating some of the major issues and concerns that preoccupy people in our profession. In being new, these ideas are young and vigorous; they explore new worlds rather than stay put content with the secure truisms of commonly accepted principles. Such fresh enthusiasm seems appropriate for printing in a young publication which, after all, being only ten years old, has not yet become a teenager!

John Povey
Editor

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Volume 10 June 1976 U.C.L.A. Dept. of English

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PUTTING COGNITIONS ON THE MAP:

An Attempt to Model the Role of Cognitions in Language Learning

R. L. Allwright

I. A Macro-Analysis of Language Teaching

1. Three elements.

At the most extreme level of generality, what happens in language classrooms can be described in terms of three elements:

I Samples of the target language.

II Guidance concerning the nature of the target language.

III Management activities.

These are not mutually exclusive elements, given that, for example, management activities might be conducted in the target language and thus constitute samples of that language; or, to give another example, guidance might take the form of an explanation in the target language, thus offering further samples. It seems less likely that management activities will simultaneously constitute guidance, or vice versa, but the possibility should not be ruled out.

2. Four dimensions.

These three elements vary in themselves, and in relation to each other in the following four ways:

A. Their relative proportion (most easily measured in terms of time, but not necessarily best measured in that way).

B. Their distribution between teacher and learners, and among the individual learners.

C. Their sequencing.

D. The language used, in terms of target or source.

At this level of generality, with just three basic elements and four dimensions along which they vary, we have a framework for discussing language teaching and learning that will begin to differentiate between the major methodological options and offer a way of classifying teaching strategies in terms somewhat different from those in which they are most usually described. It is my judgement (but I could almost have put 'hope', instead) that the framework proposed here reflects more important (in the sense of more directly

related to learning) aspects of language teaching and learning than those generally discussed under the heading of 'method'. I shall not develop the point here, however, because it is not critical to my arguement. Indeed, I wish to argue rather that the framework I have just proposed, however, useful in some ways, is itself hopelessly inadequate if we wish to reach a helpful level of understanding of what goes on in the language teaching/learning situation. We need, I suggest, a micro-analysis to relate to the macro-analysis suggested above. To bridge the gap between the two analyses some further discussion of the three elements of the macro-analysis will be necessary.

3. Further description of the three elements.

Samples of the target language are clearly necessary to language learning, but not sufficient, unless at least some of the samples function simultaneously as guidance. For example, one would not expect to learn very much of a language merely from listening to monologues on the radio, but broadcasts that involved spontaneous discussion might, in the way speakers interact, give some guidance to the listener. Occasionally, also one might hear target language lessons on the radio, and learn something directly from them.

Guidance is clearly necessary, but not sufficient, unless (to put the converse case to the one just made), it includes guidance that happens to be in the target language and that can therefore function simultaneously as target language samples. Guidance is a very vague term, covering any activity that serves to draw attention to the properties of the target language. Guidance can be implicit or explicit, intended or accidental. At one extreme would be formal statements of rules, at the other would be the sort of guidance implied by the teacher's pointing to a word in a sentence written on the blackboard, where the pointing is perhaps intended to help the learner focus his or her attention. All forms of feedback would also be included under 'guidance', from confirming or approving facial expressions to detailed criticism of an essay written in the target language. For practical purposes, as we shall see later, it seems worthwhile to reflect general discussions on language teaching and make distinctions, under the general heading of 'guidance', between:

G1: stated RULES, or (if the term 'rule' is too restricting) explicit verbal explanations;

G2: CUES, taken in a commonsense way to refer to activities that give 'hints' rather than 'explanations', direct attention to critical features, and so on. CUES are definable as forms of guidance that are neither simply G1 above, nor G3 below.

G3: simple KR (knowledge of results - positive or negative evaluations - nods or shakings of the head).

Only such distinctions will allow us to deal at all satisfactorily with the questions of overtly inductive versus overtly deductive procedures, an opposition that may be more apparent than real, but one that is still receiving considerable attention.

Management activities are presumably by no means sufficient, and not even strictly necessary, unless we are prepared to claim that they occur significantly during informal second-language acquisition. Management activities are what distinguish most clearly, surely, formal learning situations from informal ones, because they involve the notion of activities directed at achieving learning, whereas both samples of the target language, and various (if not normally all) forms of guidance may well occur incidentally, independently of any intention to teach or to learn. Humboldt's famous pessimism about the possibility of 'teaching' language can be reviewed in light of this sort of analysis, and we can see that presenting "the conditions under which it will develop spontaneously in the mind in its own way" (Humboldt, 1936, cited in Chomsky, 1965) could be taken as a definition of successful management activities that distinguish teaching (and thus formal learning) from informal learning. Supposing we, as teachers, did nothing about controlling the samples of the target language that occurred in the classroom, and nothing about directly providing guidance, but nevertheless so managed the learners' encounters with each other that they found themselves in the presence of samples of the target language, and did somehow get guidance about them, the perhaps we could still claim to have done as much as it is really necessary for teachers to do. More significantly, we might claim we have done as much as we ought to, given our ignorance about how to control exposure to the target language, and how to give forms of guidance that can be expected to aid the learner significantly in his own particular struggle with the problem of internalizing the rules of the target language (if that is an acceptable way of stating the learner's problem).

II Models at the Macro-Analytical Level

1. Introduction.

Having put some flesh on these elemental bones, as a way of setting the scene for the following discussion, we can take a further step towards a micro-analysis, and towards the eventual aim; a discussion of the importance of cognitions. The next step will involve a return to the first two elements, 'samples'and 'guidance', to the virtual exclusion, for expository convenience, of the third.

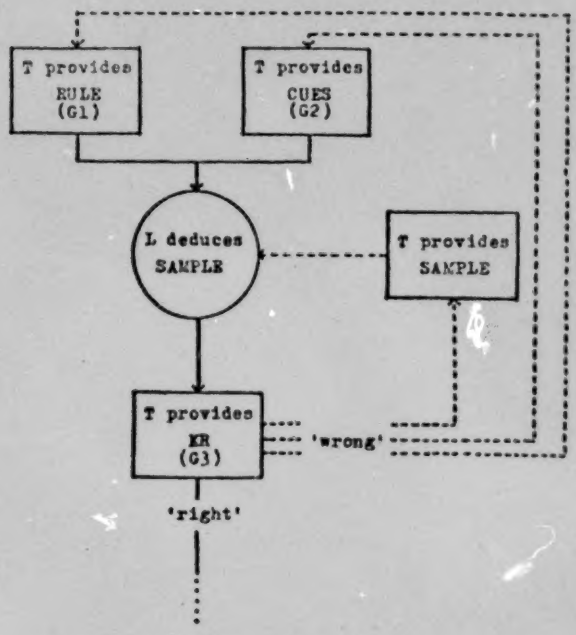
2. 'Inductive' versus 'deductive' language teaching.

The question of 'inductive' versus 'deductive' teaching procedures can be seen as essentially a question of the sequencing of the first two elements, and their distribution between teacher and learners. Put more explicitly, but still crudely, 'inductive' procedures involve the teacher in presenting samples, from which the learners are to induce the relevant rule (either covertly, as in audio-lingualism) or (less commonly) overtly. Whereas 'deductive' procedures involve the teacher in stating the rule, and the learners in subsequently deducing samples. Notice that only guidance in the form of 'rules' (G2) is crucially involved; the other forms of guidance do not contribute to the distinction. Given this crude way of stating the inductive/deductive 'opposition', it becomes a relatively simple matter to put these contrasting models of teaching in diagram form.

3. A deductive model.

Figure A represents one possible form of the deductive model. For the sake of expository convenience no reference is made on the diagram to management activities. These are, for the moment, assumed. The solid boundaries to the boxes and the circle indicate that theactivities involved are overt. The solid lines between them indicate the 'direct' route through the sequence, the broken lines indicate possible remedial sequences.

FIG.A: A DEDUCTIVE MODEL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING



Implied by the diagram are the following points:

(i) The teacher provides cues together with the rule, it being difficult to imagine a teacher stating a rule and demanding deductions from it without giving any guidance in the form of cues of some sort.

(ii) If the sample deduced by the learner is incorrect, the teacher has three basic options for remedial treatment. He can repeat the rule, or restate it. He can repeat the cues, or add further

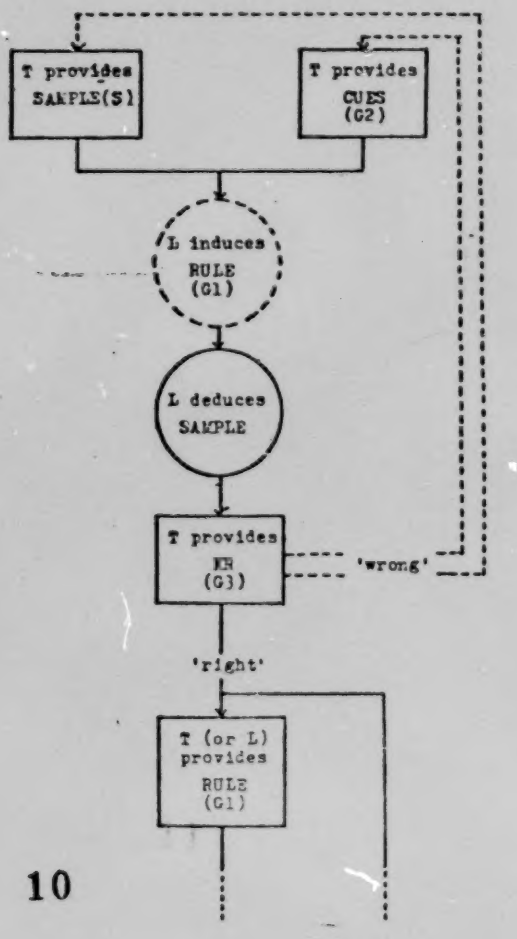
ones, or he can in a sense 'give up' and supply a sample, a model deduction from the rule. He can use these options in any combination and in any order, of course. The deductive nature of the strategy will be preserved, unless it is argued that the teacher's provision of a model deduction constitute a sample from which the learner might at least attempt to induce the rule for himself (perhaps because he found the teacher's formulation of it incomprehensible in some way).

(iii) It should not be forgotten that, for example, the RULE might be stated in the target language, thus simultaneously providing a sample of that language, though not of the operation of the rule being stated, or course.

4. An inductive model.

Figure B represents an inductive model (basically a form of audio-lingualism is intended).

FIG.B: AN INDUCTIVE MODEL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING



The conventions for the diagram are as before, except that the broken boundary of the upper circle is intended to indicate the covert nature of the induction process. The following points should help the interpretation of the diagram:

(i) The teacher provides cues, together with samples. (Notice that the non-random selection of samples is a form of guidance, by my definition.)

(ii) With this model only two remedial options are typically recommended. The provision of the rule is something quite different, to be used only to confirm success already obtained. Whereas for the deductive model the provision of a model sample was seen as a more or less legitimate remedial device, it should be clear that the provision of the rule (following 'traditional' audiolingualism) is seen as inhibitory rather than facilitative, except strictly as explicit confirmation of a rule already internalized by a process of covert induction.

(iii) The diagram appears to ignore the direct imitation phase of audio-lingual teaching. It could be argued that the 'L induces rule' circle is redundant, and that the 'L deduces sample' circle should read 'L imitates sample'. But this presupposes that 'direct imitation' is a useful way of referring to what actually goes on. It seems at least equally arguable that what is called direct imitation pre-supposes covert induction, that, in other words, we cannot 'imitate' except by inducing a rule in accordance with which we then generate a copy of the original sample. Notice that an imitation, in these terms, is a re-creation, not just an automatic carbon copy. That this is so is suggested by the fact that imitations reflect only selected features of the original (a female learner will not normally be expected to imitate the masculine characteristics of the voice of a male teacher, for example). It is difficult to understand this selectivity is some mechanical process of 'direct imitation' (without covert induction) is assumed.

5. Limitations of the macro-analysis.

The two models now presented provide an illustration of the way in which the original macro-analysis might be developed to provide a framework for methodological discussions. Such models, however, seem to me to be valuable for their ability to draw attention to untouched complexities, rather than for any particular insights they might provide directly as idealizations of the real world. Faced with such a diagram one of my students remarked that the trouble is, in the 'real' world learners do not even pay attention to the'RULE plus CUES', or the SAMPLE plus CUES', let alone neatly perform the expected psychological operation of overt deduction or covert induction, as the case may be. This severely practical criticism indicated the diagram's ability to draw attention to'untouched complexities', as noted above, and prompted a micro-analysis, still in logical rather than behavioural terms, that I now wish to present as being perhaps a more fruitful way of providing a framework for the discussion of language teaching and learning.

III A Micro-Analysis Incorporating Cognitions

1. Research background.

Several rather different lines of research have contributed to the micro-analysis to be proposed below and some discussion of them should from a useful background to the analysis itself. Firstly there is the work of Festinger on a 'cognitive dissonance' theory of human behaviour. Festinger has argued that humans behave as they do for what we might call subjective rather than objective reasons. For example, we eat not so much because we are hungry (suffering from food deprivation in some technical sense) but because we feel hungry. It has been pointed out that the majority of people in affluent societies may never really be hungry, but there is no doubt that they feel hungry, at certain times of the day, probably according to a well established routine. Human behaviour then, according to this view, depends on an individual's cognitions about the current state of affairs (whether intrapersonal or interpersonal), rather that upon the 'objective facts' of the situation.

> "This view asserts that it is only what the organism 'knows' about its motivational state that affects learning, performance, perception, and so on. Noncognitive components of motivation, such as the physiological state of the organism, could then affect behaviors like learning only to the extent that they affected the cognitive components. That is, a state of deprivation, short of killing the organism, would have to have cognitive representation in order to have any kind of psychological effect at all."
>
> (Brehm, 1962, p. 75)

Following this sort of thinking, Heckhausen and Weiner have worked towards a cognitive psychology of motivation. In a particularly valuable research review paper (Heckhausen and Weiner, 1972) they draw attention to the failures of 'mechanistic' theories and stress the considerable quantity of research that might be brought together in a cognitive theory. They conclude by proposing 'a process model of self-regulation' which I summarize here in order to provide a point of comparison with my own crude attempts to incorporate some cognitions into a model of language teaching and learning. Heckhausen and Weiner suggest that different kinds of cognitions influence the course of behaviour within an action sequence. An action sequence may be subdivided into four temporally sequential stages:

1. The Foreperiod

   Appraisal of the situation.
   Planning of the action to be taken.
   Intentions.
   Fixing the standard against which performance is to be evaluated.
   Prospective causal attributions to possible sources of performance outcome.
   Expectations of success and failure.
   Search for relevant performance information.
   Etc., etc. .....

2. The Performance Period

Continuous monitoring of one's behaviour.
Alteration of planned instrumental sequence.
Re-evaluation of expectancies.
Appraisal of one's internal states.
Etc., etc. .....

3. Post-performance or Self-evaluation Period

Perceived outcome determined via self-monitored feedback or via information provided by out side sources.
Search for feedback information (if incomplete).
Performance outcome compared with personal standard.

4. Delayed Post-performance Period

Re-appraisal altering causal ascriptions.
Re-consideration of: intentions (standards), instrumental planning, expectations.
Daydreaming about further delayed consequences and their contingencies.

(Based on Heckhausen and Weiner, 1972, p. 144).

A quite different source of ideas for a micro-analysis has come from observational classroom research and in particular from researchers such as Arno Bellack in New York (Bellack, et al, 1966), and, after him, the Discourse Analysis team under John Sinclair at Birmingham. They have provided analyses in terms of the uses of language in the classroom, and worked on the basis of a unit of interaction composed of an Initiation, a Response, and some form of Feedback (IRF), (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975, p.50). This structure is clearly reflected in the models prosposed above. Observational classroom research, however, as the name implies, depends crucially on the observability of what goes on in classrooms. The problem of dealing with cognitions in a strickly observational framework is obvious. Cognitions are only weakly related to observable behaviour. We cannot, to put it crudely, simply observe that a companion is feeling hungry. We may take his or her word for it, or we may infer it from some behaviour, but we will not be able to observe it directly (unlike the performance of a request for food, for example).

Discourse analysts have come nearer to this sort of discussion when they have considered, for example, how it is that sentences may be interpreted in terms of discourse functions (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975, pp. 29-33). How, for example, a simple proposition like 'the door's open' may, in the classroom context, be reliably interpreted as a generalized command (generalized in the sense of addressed to the whole class, but expecting any one individual to act accordingly). Such interpretations depend on the objective state of affairs, certainly (the door must actually be open), but they also depend on the preceived relations between the participants. Deliberate misinterpretations are likely to reveal a refusal to accept the legitimacy of the relationship pre-

supposed by the command. The Birmingham team give as an example the case of the son who answered 'Yes' to his father's question "Is that your coat on the floor again?". Although a perfectly satisfactory response from the purely linguistic point of view, the boy's 'Yes' represents a challenge to the father's authority, since it refuses to acknowledge the implied command to put the coat in its proper place. The boy is therefore seen as insolent or at least cheeky. Malcolm Coulthard, working with John Sinclair, has developed this type of analysis to describe the conditions (from the speaker's point of view) relevant to the conversational use of questions (in functional rather than formal terms). His nine conditions are not intended to reflect classroom discourse, and so they provide a further background to my own ideas rather than an alternative to them. (Aaron Cicourel's extremely interesting and relevant work, in Cicourel et al, 1974, has only just come to my attention, too late for this paper.)

2. The micro-analysis.

My own analysis of the 'conditions for successful learner production of the response part of the IRF (Initiation, Response, Feedback) sequence' is set out in list form below, and put into model form in Figure C: An 'inductive' model Incorporating Cognitions. This list is somewhat cryptic and needs some immediate elaboration before the model in Figure C is discussed.

A. OVERT BEHAVIOUR

1. Produces SAMPLE.
2. Seeks GUIDANCE (consults teacher, fellow-learner, or teaching/reference materials).

B. COVERT BEHAVIOUR

1. Attends.
2. Believes
   (i) hears,
   (ii) remembers,
   (iii) understands,
   (iv) T is right.
3. Prepares SAMPLE acceptable to self
4. Notices.
5. Cares.
6. Selects remedial action (i.e. chooses where to go for GUIDANCE).

The teaching situation to which the list is intended to be relevant is that where a particular learner is required to produce a SAMPLE of the target language, probably the most obvious situation to start with. It is important to note that we are taking only the case where one particular learner is

required to respond. Questions to the whole class pose considerable additional analytical problems. The learner's overt behaviour can be described as consisting of two basic elements - the actual production of the SAMPLE, on the one hand, and a guidance seeking operation, on the other, if the learner feels unable to produce a sample without further guidance.

The learner's covert behaviour appears on analysis to be much more complex. It is first of all necessary that he attends to the teacher, then that he believes he has heard correctly. The crucial point here is the learner's belief, of course. His behaviour (covert and overt) will depend on what he believes, regardless of the 'true' state of affairs. Thus, he must also believe that he remembers what the teacher said. Next he must believe that the teacher is right, that the teacher is not making a mistake about the nature of the target language. Given that these conditions are met, the learner can now proceed to prepare (still covertly) a sample of the target language that at least meets his own criteria of acceptability. Now at last he can proceed to the actual overt production of the required sample, for the teacher to evaluate. As the model in Figure C below illustrates, breakdowns can occur at any of the covert steps. Recovery from breakdowns involves steps 4, 5 and 6 on the list of covert behaviour. To clarify the whole model, it may be helpful to discuss a particular case in some detail.

3. An 'inductive' model incorporating cognitions.

The simplest case for illustration would probably be that of a teacher using structure drills in class. At the top of Figure C we have the teacher providing three samples (a, b and c) and guidance in the form of cues. For the sake of simplicity we can imagine the teacher writing the samples on the blackboard:

Do you like jazz?

No, I don't.

Do they play bridge?

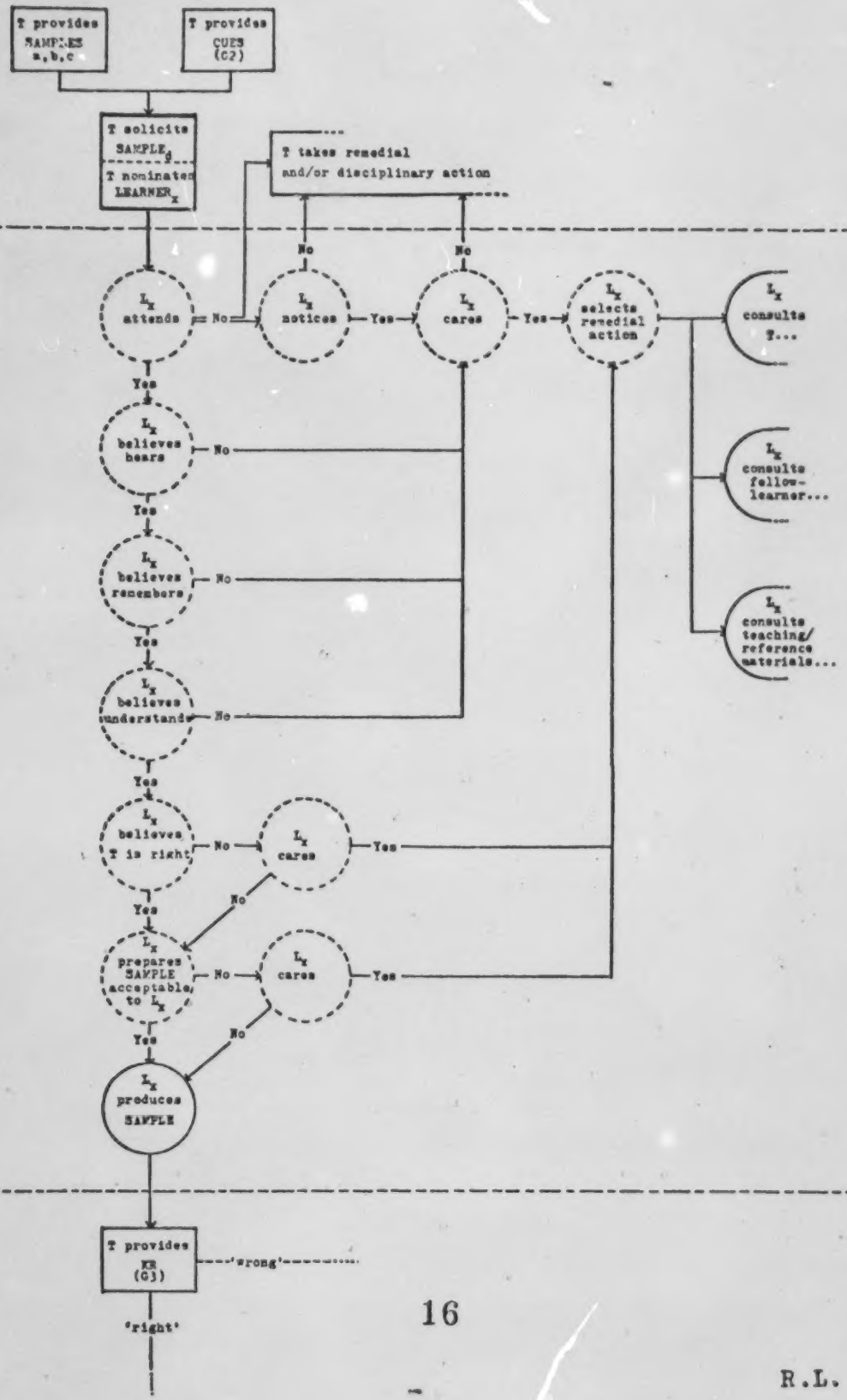
No, they don't.

Does Helen smoke?

No, she doesn't.

There is guidance implicit in the choice of items, but the teacher might well offer further cues by underlining some of the words, or merely by pointing to them, and thus draw attention to the relationships, for example, between 'do'and 'don't', 'does' and 'doesn't'. He might then, as the third teacher 'box' indicates, call upon one learner to respond to a fourth item (solicit $sample_d$ and nominate $learner_x$). But this particular learner may not have been paying attention. If he notices that he has not been paying attention (e.g. has heard his name called but does not know what he is to do), then, if he cares enough, he may select one of three courses of remedial action. He may look at the course-book (if there is one) or at the blackboard (consults teaching/reference materials) in the hope of finding out what is expected of him without too obviously admitting that he was not paying attention. Or he might decide to risk asking a fellow-learner (this may or may not be frowned

FIG.C: AN 'INDUCTIVE' MODEL INCORPORATING COGNITIONS



R.L. Allwright

August, 1975.

upon, of course). Or, thirdly, he might decide to openly admit his inattention and ask the teacher for help. Or, of course, he might combine any or all of these three possibilities. The circles are incomplete to reflect the fact that the diagram fails to deal with the further steps that would be involved in any recourse to remedial action.

Going back a step, we find that if he notices, but does not care, then presumably he will make no attempt to find out what is required but will just wait for the teacher to take what I have called 'remedial and/or disciplinary action' (in an open-ended box because the further steps potentially involved in such action'are not represented). Similarly, one step further back, if he does not even notice his inattention (is still daydreaming), then presumably the teacher will eventually intervene.

Once the learner's attention is secured, the next possible problem involves hearing. If the learner does not believe he has heard correctly (whether or not he in fact has, of course), then once again he may resort to remedial action if, and only if, he cares. He does not need to 'notice' his belief or lack of it, because the assumption is made that the act of believing itself involves awareness. The same is true of the next two steps. The learner will resort to remedial action if he cares enough about not being sure he has remembered what he is to do, or not being sure he understands. In all these first four steps the result of the learner not caring sufficiently about any breakdown is that the teacher must intervene, because failure at these points means the learner is incapable of producing a response. Total failure to do anything about this sort of breakdown is probably rare, and would be interpreted by the teacher as a challenge to his right to the learner's co-operation. Unco-operative students do exist, of course, and the model reflects this fact.

Failure at the next two steps has somewhat different consequences. The learner may have reason to believe that the teacher is in some way misinformed about the target language, and is expecting a response that will not, in fact, be correct. If the learner cares then he has the usual options for remedial action. If he does not care it does not mean (unlike in the previous cases discussed) that he is incapable of producing a response. The 'No' arrow therefore leads straight back into the next step, on the asumption that the learner will conform to the teacher's expectations, rather than do anything that might appear to challenge the teacher's competence. To give a brief, conjectural, illustration. A German child who had 'done an exchange' with a family in Essex or Suffolk might well have discovered that, in these parts of England at least, 'No, she don't' is perfectly acceptable as a local form. The child might be quite sure about this, and even quite keen to share his specialist knowledge, but very reluctant to mention it in case the teacher should take it as a challenge.

The following step, where the learner prepares (some sort of rehearsal) a sample acceptable to himself, needs some elaboration. The heading for the whole diagram has the word 'inductive' in inverted commas for a reason. Were it possible to be more confident about the types of mental operations going on in learners' heads, this step might have been subdivided into (a) 'learner induces rule' and (b) 'learner deduces sample' as in Figure B. It seems

preferable, however, given our lack of precise knowledge in the area, to conflate the two and make no specific claims about the particular mental operations involved. The learner, then, is described as preparing a sample acceptable to himself. 'Acceptable to himself' reflects the point that the learner will set his own standards, which may or may not conform to those of the teacher. If the learner feels (not 'is') unable to prepare such a sample, then, if he cares sufficiently, he will resort to remedial action. If not, he will presumably simply go on to the next step and produce, probably, a sample that fails to please ('No, he don't'?). But notice that the teacher may well approve of a response that does not satisfy the learner. My own preliminary research into the problem of the treatment of error in the classroom suggests that teachers may often find themselves giving some form of approval (if only be omitting to disapprove) to learners' utterances that may well be correct in precisely that respect that is currently the focus of the teacher's attention, but incorrect in other ways (Allwright, 1975, p. 13-14). Sometimes, at least, the learner must be aware of such anomalies.

Finally, the learner produces a sample, and the teacher can can provide 'knowledge of results' and remedial action if necessary.

IV Conclusions

The model represented in Figure C has been presented at some length, in order to demonstrate how it should be interpreted. It covers only one facet of language teaching and learning, but at the same time it is universalistic in the sense that it depends on a logical analysis of what the particular learning situation in question must, it seems, demand of any learner. The model attempts to map these demands in cognitive terms, specifying an order for them and a certain patterning in their inter-relationships. Its chief advantage would appear to be simply that it attempts to avoid unhelpful idealization, and specifically tries to deal with the various possibilities of breakdown and the various subsequent possibilities of remedial action. I might therefore be falsifiable by empirical investigation, and it certainly suggests questions for investigation. For example, consideration of the model could lead to studies of learners in class to investigate the possibility that the various breakdowns (though covert in themselves) do have observably different behavioural consequences. Another possibility would be studies of learners' choices of remedial action. It we made the assumption (probably reasonable) that learners need freedom of choice in this area, then we might also investigate various aspects of teachers' behaviour in an attempt to find relationships between teaching styles and learners' choices of remedial actions. We cannot say which research suggestions are most important in pedagogical terms, of course, since we know so very little about which variables are crucial to language learning success or failure in the classroom. In the circumstances a 'commonsense' logical analysis seems a good starting point, particularly if it attempts to deal with psychological variables in general and with cognitions in particular.

The model is still an idealization, of course. Each circle has a cryptic label that covers a major set of problems for further analysis. Notice also that the Yes/No relationship between circles is a gross oversimplification of

reality. In this sense the model is still extremely crude, an in its own way represents a macro-analyis of still more 'untouched complexities'. Even this micro-analysis, therefore, is likely to be useful primarily (if at all) for the way it draws attention to its own inadequacies, and suggests problems that cry out for detailed investigation.

Putting cognitions on the map is only one part of the attempt to find fruitful ways of looking at language learning in classrooms, and making models on paper is clearly no more than a first step in what appears to be a promising direction. Detailed studies of learners (and their teachers) in action must follow if progress is to be made. The hope must be that studies based on the sort of analysis presented here will be more coherent and ultimately more fruitful than studies, however careful and detailed, with no such analytical base. It is only a hope, however, at this stage, and no more definitive a formulation will be possible until more researchers take up the challenge offered by this sort of research into classroom processes.

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A COMPARISON OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TESTS

J. Donald Bowen

The information and data presented in this paper was an incidental product of a course in language testing offered in the Middle East Institute of Linguistics III, held at Cairo University during five weeks of the summer of 1975, from July 20 to August 21. When I give this course during a regular academic year I assign as a major term project the planning and construction of a test for a specific language class, which after being critiqued and piloted is administered to the class. The scores from this test provide the data which is used for item analysis and the application of simple statistical procedures, giving the students an opportunity to work with real data which, properly interpreted, can contribute to an evaluation of the quality of the tests they have produced.

But a testing course in late July and early August comes during vacation, and there are no students available that can take the tests produced as assignments. My alternative plan to gather working data was to give my own students a number of language tests of different kinds, which yielded for each student real test results--material for item analysis and statistical practice--and in addition had the virtue of acquainting students in a fairly intimate way with tests of various kinds, approaches, philosophy, and format. Once the results of the students' performance were available, it seemed a logical next step to look at the scores and make comparisons and correlations among the different kinds of tests.

Most of the students taking the course were teachers, though some were demonstrators (teaching assistants) at local universities. Their academic performance in my class ranged from good to superior. Their mastery of English was sufficiently good that I never felt a need to make any allowances as I spoke or lectured.

Due to scheduling and other problems, the student group varied, with over twenty-five students in attendance at one time or another, usually hovering around eighteen to twenty, some entering late and some dropping out early. At the end of the program there was available data for only thirteen. I regret this small number since the confidence that can be placed in the potential generalization for only thirteen students is necessarily limited, but there was no choice.

Student attendance was reasonably consistent, but absences produced a few missing scores. To simplify statistical treatment I estimated performance on the tests that were missed by some of the thirteen students, judging on the basis of the students' performance on other tests and on class averages. Ten scores (out of 234) were supplied in this way, possibly introducing a small amount of error.

Students selected a three-digit code number which was the only identification that appeared on any of the test papers. I had the only key. Near the end of the course, after all tests were taken, sets were distributed to students for correction and analysis. I supplied copies of correct responses and sugges-

tions for evaluating answers. These evaluations produced scores which I converted to percentages that were then used to calculate means, standard deviations, and coefficients of correlation for the present study. These figures allow some comparisons and show to what extent one set of test scores can be used to predict another.

Also included for the correlation study were four scores which I gave in evaluating the academic performance of the students in the testing course. These included a grade on assignments completed (construction of four tests), midterm and final examinations, and the term grade. Students were told that the language tests they took would not be used in the determination of their course grade, and they were not so used. Nonetheless I have calculated coefficients between the data tests and the course evaluation scores, to see to what extent they might correlate.

Two composite scores were calculated for each student: one for the eighteen tests and one for the total data including course evaluation scores. This produced 24 columns of data: eighteen tests, a composite score for these tests, four course evaluation scores, and a composite total.

The following data tests, with content and format descriptions as given, were administered. The order of listing is arbitrary. All tests were taken in a large amphitheater classroom with generous spacing between students.

1. Spelling test--30 items presented in a horizontal multiple-choice format with one correct spelling and three distracters. The examinee was instructed to circle the letter by the correct spelling. The thirty items included 1 one-syllable word, 11 two-syllable, 8 three-syllable, and 10 four- to six-syllable words. Most were the difficult kinds of words called "demons" by spelling teachers.

Items	Presentation	Response
30	written	written

2. Sentence comprehension--12 items presented in multiple-choice format. Each item was a sentence accompanied by four paraphrase sentences, from which the examinee identified the one nearest in meaning. Sentences were not simple, but not overly complex, and occupied from three-fourths to one full line in typed form.

Items	Presentation	Response
12	written	written

3. Listening comprehension--ten items in a true-false format. Students heard a selection (a Dear Abby letter, quoted in Pimsleur and Berger, pp. 116-117) and then heard ten statements which they identified as true or false. The selection and questions were heard from tape.

Items	Presentation	Response
10	recorded oral	written

4. Gapped listening--ten items in a true-false format. A 400-word text was heard from a distorted tape. While being recorded the volume switch was manipulated to produce a fade to a level too light to be heard for a second out of each six seconds. The effect is somewhat similar to ppor reception on a shortwave radio. Ten statements were read live twice after the text was heard. The test was "The Flying Fool" (Green, p. 7).

Items	Presentation	Response
10	recorded oral and live oral	written

5. Gapped listening--ten items in a multiple-choice format. The text was prepared as described for test 4. The text was "Phoenician Traders in Britain," about 480 words (Green, p. 16-17). The test was presented in written form.

Items	Presentation	Response
10	recorded oral and written	written

6. Dictation--clear. Contextually consistent selection of about 70 words about small cars and traffic conditions, a modified version of "Cars for Tomorrow" (A Reading Sampler, p. 57). The delivery format was: selection read once complete, once phrased (each phrase given twice) and spaced to allow writing time, then once complete again. Punctuation was read. Closely corrected.

Items	Presentation	Response
non-discrete	recorded oral	written

7. Dictation--masked. Contextually consistent selection of about 70 words about food preferences of young Americans, a modified version of "Hungry for Hamburgers" (A reading Sampler, p. 41). Recording masked by white noise. Delivery format same as for test 6.

Items	Presentation	Response
non-discrete	recorded oral	written

8. Dictation--limited context. Selection consisted of eight sentences of varying length (five to seventeen words). Each sentence was semantically meaningful, but there was no relation between sentences. Delivery format same as for test 6.

Items	Presentation	Response
non-discrete	recorded oral	written

9. Dictation--no context. Selection consisted of six sentences of varying length (five to sixteen words). The sentences were suggestive of meaning but essentially nonsense. Delivery format same as for test 6.

Items	Presentation	Response
non-discrete	recorded oral	written

10. Cloze dictation--A paragraph of 165 words (on discrete-point vs integrative testing) is placed before the student in a cloze format with twenty blanks, one occurring every five to nine words. Student hears selection read from tape and fills in the blanks as he hears and identifies them (cf. Bowen 1972).

Items	Presentation	Response
20	recorded oral and written	written

11. Cloze test--a four-paragraph selection of approximately 420 words describing an incident involving a French learner of English (Oller, pp. 193-194, quoted from J. I. Brown, Efficient Reading, Boston: Heath, 1956, p. 115). After the first full sentence every seventh word is deleted, with a blank of standard length provided for its restoration.

Items	Presentation	Response
50	written	written

12. Integrative grammar test--a test requiring oral recognition and identification of words in context. Sentences with typical assimilations, contractions, and reductions are heard, from which examinee identifies and writes down the second word of each sentence. Fifty items are sequenced by type, then repeated in random order. (Cf. Bowen 1975.)

Items	Presentation	Response
100	recorded oral	written

Table
Example Tests and Percent-

Students	1 Spelling M/C	2 Sentance Comprehension M/C	3 Listening Comprehension T/F	4 Gapped Listening T/F 'Flying Fool'	5 Gapped Listening M/C 'Traders'	6 Dictation - Clear	7 Dictation - Masked	8 Dictation - Limited Context	9 Dictation - No Context	10 Cloze Dictation 'Lecturette'	11 Cloze Test	12 Integrative Grammar Test
000	87	92	90	70	70	86	80	96	78	85	84	65
136	80	92	60	70	70	28	28	98	52	35	68	28
182	93	75*	0	30	30	76	44	82	50	30	56	14
212	87	100	70	30	50	98	84	100	60	90	68	31
266	90	83	40	70	40	74	72	90	60	78	70	42
378	83	100	70	60	50	80	50	76	26	75	62	30
444	73	92	0	60*	50*	77*	62*	30	0	5	76	1
555	97	92	90	60	80	96	98	100	66	60	76	60
777	97	83	50	60	30	56	30	76	40	5	70	25
789	83	92	90	60	40	98	74	100	50	75	78	39
865	90	100	100	80	30	98	74	84*	48*	85	68	30*
937	83	75	70	30	70	86	46	86	52	78	72	24
965	97	83	90	80	50	92	58	88	58	35	88	32
Mean	87.7	89.2	63.1	58.5	50.8	80.4	61.5	85.1	49.2	56.6	72.0	32.4
S.D.	7.31	8.69	33.01	17.72	17.06	19.96	21.23	18.70	19.33	30.69	8.56	16.94

* Score estimated

1

Course Evaluation

ages

Allen Thumb-Nail Grammar Test	Aural Discrimination	Judgement of Nativeness	Harris Memory Span Test	Communicative Competence - 1	Communicative Competence - 2	Composite - Data Tests	Course Assignments	Mid Term Exam	Final Exam	Term Grade	Composite - Total
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
84	88	61	92	64	80	80.7	77	70	66	75	79.1
58	68	28	77	0	72	56.2	78	67	69	75	59.1
8	84	34	82	4	48	46.7	72	59	55	75	50.0
62	88	64	89	20	56	69.3	82	66	66	83	70.2
76	80	46	88	28	60	65.9	91	76	85	93	69.6
48	88	26	84	32	52	60.7	60*	55	38	68	59.7
54	0	47	89	0	44	42.2	82	72	79	93	49.4
72	92	60*	94	40	76	78.3	86	99	86	100	80.9
10	4	40	84	0	56	45.3	89*	53	48*	75	49.1
69	100	54	93	64	72	74.0	82	90	93	100	77.1
40	100	30	89	24	16	65.9	80	54	28	68	64.4
86	88	62	87	36	32	64.6	86	53	90	93	67.5
68	34	46	75	16	72	67.3	86	85	80	93	70.7
56.5	74.2	46.0	86.4	25.2	56.6	62.9	80.8	69.2	67.9	83.9	65.1
24.89	33.05	13.62	5.81	22.11	18.61	12.28	8.11	15.00	20.54	11.81	11.06

13. Allen thumb-nail grammar test--a speeded test to see how many grammatically and contextually acceptable items can be produced for fifteen sentences, each of which has one content word omitted. Time allowance - 15 minutes. (Cf. Allen.)

Items	Presentation	Response
150	written	written

14. Aural discrimination--identification of pair words in contextualized minimal pair sentence/situations. Contrast described and illustrated, then tested. Presentation and test on tape.

Items	Presentation	Response
25	recorded oral	written

15. Judgment of nativeness--eight Arabic recordings and eight English recordings, half of each language by native and half by non-native speakers (matched-guise format), some balanced bilinguals, and some dominant in English or Arabic are heard reading a given selection on tape. Examinees judge whether each is native, non-native, or questionable (Vogelaar).

Items	Presentation	Response
16	recorded oral	written

16. Harris memory span test--a graduated dictation exercise of sixteen sentences, eight pairs increasing in length (from eight to twenty words) and grammatical complexity are heard once each by students. They write down the sentences as accurately and completely as they can. (Cf. Harris.)

Items	Presentation	Response
non-discrete	live oral	written

17. Communicative competence test No. 1--A drawing task in which a recorded set of instructions is to be followed. Items are not strictly discrete, but there are about 33 instructions given. Pacing is brisk for paragraph of about 200 words.

Items	Presentation	Response
33	recorded oral	non verbal

18. Communicative competence test No. 2--A repetition of test No. 17 about two weeks after it was first given. No practice or discussion intervened.

The percentage scores for each of thirteen students for each test with the mean and standard deviation for each test are shown in Table 1.

By ranking the means we have a rough measure of the difficulty of each test. The list from easiest to most difficult is:

1. Sentence comprehension	89.2	10. Gapped listening--T/F	58.5
2. Spelling	87.7	11. Cloze dictation	56.6
3. Memory span	86.4	12. Communicative competence--2	56.6
4. Dictation--limited context	85.1	13. Thumb-nail grammar test	56.5
5. Dictation--clear	80.4	14. Gapped listening--M/C	50.8
6. Aural discrimination	74.2	15. Dictation--no context	49.2
7. Cloze test	72.0	16. Judgment of nativeness	46.0
8. Listening comprehension	63.1	17. Integrative grammar test	32.4
9. Dictation--masked	61.5	18. Communicative competence--1	25.2

Obviously this ranking grossly oversimplifies comparisons between types of tests, and the implications for relative difficulty are unreliable, as the two variant results of the communicative competence test shows. A test of any format can be made easier or more difficult by manipulating such variables as

vocabulary, structure, content, etc. But perhaps some conclusions can be drawn. One is that students tend to do better on tests of types they are familiar with (sentence meaning, spelling, dictation, comprehension) and not well on kinds of tests that are new to them (communicative competence, identification of informal pronunciations, judgment of nativeness, distorted texts for listening, speeded tests). Perhaps some of the tests that yield low scores indicate areas of instruction that could profitably be strengthened.

It is also interesting to look at the considerable variance in standard deviation figures. These show the dispersion in scores, and range from 5.81 to 33.04. The tests take the following order:

1. Memory span	5.81	10. Dictation--limited context	18.70
2. Spelling	7.31	11. Dictation--no context	19.33
3. Cloze	8.56	12. Dictation--clear	19.96
4. Sentence comprehension	8.69	13. Dictation--masked	21.23
5. Judgment of nativeness	13.62	14. Communicative competence--1	22.11
6. Integrative grammar	16.94	15. Thumb-nail grammar	24.89
7. Gapped listening--M/C	17.06	16. Cloze dictation	30.69
8. Gapped listening--T/F	17.72	17. Listening comprehension	33.01
9. Communicative competence--2	18.61	18. Aural discrimination	33.05

These figures identify which skills are performed consistently (well or badly) by a class. Those with difficulty scores that indicate a general limited mastery and with low variance scores that indicate homogeneous performance need to be brought to full-class attention. Those with high variance scores are potential candidates for individualized instruction--the fact that some students are doing very badly is shown by the large S.D. figures. So short-term memory, spelling, and sentence comprehension are not problems. But practice in the skills measured by the integrative grammar test, judgment of nativeness, and gapped listening are relevant to the entire class. Experience with communicative competence, dictation (especially of distorted texts) and cloze tests would help many class members. Some class members seem to have a critical need for listening comprehension and aural discrimination skills.

It should be recognized that these indications apply only to the class tested. How far it would be possible to generalize the same conclusions for other students is not clear. Thirteen students is a small number on which to base a description of a "typical" population. Perhaps it would be possible to look for the specific weaknesses and strengths indicated when dealing with other groups of Egyptian teachers and teacher trainees, which could be done without attempting to give the somewhat imposing battery of tests described in the present article.

I calculated correlation coefficients between all of the scores, individual tests and composites, on a Litton Monroe 1930 Electronic Display Calculator, later validated by a computer run. The results are shown in Table 2. The correlation coefficients indicate to what extent the tests are measuring similar skills, with a high correlation shown by a high coefficient and a low correlation (i.e. absence of correlation) by a low coefficient. For purposes of comparison I make the following assumptions:

Table 2

Correlation Coefficients

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
1	-.295	.281	.112	-.198	.205	.142	.448	.557	-.025	.072	.402	-.269	.206	.047	-.128	-.008	.185	.221	.211	.169	-.153	-.013	.206	1
2	---	.419	.331	.078	.206	.438	.044	-.130	.374	.022	.220	.119	.150	-.111	.324	.202	.018	.306	-.369	.082	-.379	-.262	.227	2
3		---	.393	.321	.415	.416	.650	.560	.617	.478	.692	.482	.604	.247	.202	.634	.203	.817	.070	.260	-.016	.033	.760	3
4			---	-.023	-.121	.010	-.015	.005	-.066	.494	.324	.149	-.039	-.349	-.131	.090	.236	.203	.114	.299	-.140	-.080	.191	4
5				---	-.060	.221	.264	.320	.201	.388	.469	.696	.198	.459	.140	.324	.439	.475	.025	.358	.476	.302	.509	5
6					---	.770	.124	.196	.548	.298	.283	.315	.493	.526	.561	.579	-.160	.566	.052	.309	.120	.348	.562	6
7						---	.266	.375	.580	.376	.597	.507	.442	.599	.742	.608	.185	.728	.186	.600	.259	.415	.747	7
8							---	.889	.597	.077	.711	.319	.747	.255	.059	.491	.435	.724	.100	.274	.146	.039	.690	8
9								---	.537	.266	.792	.390	.651	.425	.117	.497	.446	.745	.264	.292	.204	.077	.723	9
10									---	.017	.578	.568	.814	.341	.480	.735	-.066	.791	-.136	.032	.010	-.015	.716	10
11										---	.434	.623	-.014	.540	.131	.419	.485	.499	.470	.599	.527	.527	.576	11
12											---	.534	.540	.422	.428	.743	.590	.877	.125	.487	.186	.137	.652	12
13												---	.416	.681	.328	.637	.335	.730	.263	.485	.667	.555	.785	13
14													---	.145	.152	.622	.078	.756	-.240	.212	.054	.026	.696	14
15														---	.574	.525	.296	.553	.503	.436	.669	.649	.634	15
16															---	.645	-.030	.465	.152	.275	.196	.313	.476	16
17																---	.312	.647	-.053	.383	.305	.281	.830	17
18																	---	.406	.087	.685	.469	.322	.468	18
19																		---	.110	.515	.304	.290	.983	19
20																			---	.352	.548	.616	.232	20
21																				---	.684	.760	.635	21
22																					---	.919	.466	22
23																						---	.457	23

Correlation Coefficients	Description
.00 - .39	no useful correlation
.40 - .54	weak correlation
.55 - .59	fair correlation
.60 - 1.00	strong correlation, with predictive ability

There are of course differences within these groupings; .59 is very close to .60, etc. and there is no intrinsic reason for selecting .40, .55, and .60 as cutoff points other than their indications of relative significance levels--and the assumption that cutoff points must occur somewhere.

Looking at individual pairs of language data tests one sees that of the 153 scores produced by comparing each language test with every other, 85 show no useful correlation, 34 show a weak correlation, 12 show a marginal of fair correlation, and only 22 a strong correlation--of .60 or higher. The thirty-two highest correlations and their respective t-scores and significance levels are:

No.	No.	Correlation Coefficient	t-score
8	9	.889	6.46 ***
10	14	.814	4.65 ***
9	12	.792	4.31 ***
6	7	.770	4.03 **
8	14	.747	3.72 **
12	17	.743	3.68 **
7	16	.742	3.67 **
10	17	.735	3.59 **
8	12	.711	3.36 **
5	13	.696	3.21 **
3	12	.692	3.18 **
9	14	.651	2.84 *
3	8	.650	2.83 *
16	17	.645	2.79 *
13	17	.637	2.74 *
3	17	.634	2.72 *
13	15	.631	2.70 *
11	13	.623	2.64 *
14	17	.622	2.63 *
3	10	.617	2.60 *
7	17	.608	2.54 *
3	14	.604	2.52 *
7	15	.598	2.48 *
7	12	.597	2.47 *
8	10	.597	2.47 *
12	18	.590	2.43 *
7	10	.580	2.36 *
6	17	.579	2.35 *
10	12	.578	2.35 *
15	16	.574	2.32 *
10	13	.568	2.29 *
6	16	.561	2.25 *
3	9	.560	2.24 *
1	9	.557	2.23 *

Significant at .001 (***), .01 (**), .05 (*) with 12 df.

A simple tally shows the following distribution:

Tests nos.	No. of times occurring in high correlation patterns
17	eight
10, 12	seven
3, 7, 13	six
8, 9, 14	five
16	four
6, 15	three
5	two
1, 11, 18	one
2, 4	none

These observations tend to show which tests are more general measures of overall linguistic competence, but there is a much simpler and more reliable way to get this information. Column 19 is a composite score of all eighteen individual tests. Since the composite scores represent a wide and varied sample of linguistic skills, it seems fair to consider them more valid as an overall measure than any of the individual test scores. The coefficients between this score and the individual test scores will show to what extent each of the eighteen individual scores are predictive of the composite scores. The results show the following alignment:

Composite Score with Test No.		Correlation Coefficient
12	Integrative grammar	.877 ***
17	Communicative competence--1	.847 ***
3	Comprehension T/F	.817 ***
10	Cloze dictation	.791 **
14	Aural discrimination	.756 **
9	Dictation--no context	.745 **
13	Thumb-nail grammar	.730 **
7	Dictation--masked	.723 **
8	Dictation--limited context	.724 **
6	Dictation--clear	.566 *
15	Judgment of nativeness	.553 *
11	Cloze	.499
5	Gapped listening--M/C	.475
16	Memory span	.465
18	Communicative competence--2	.406
2	Sentence comprehension	.308
1	Spelling	.221
4	Gapped listening--T/F	.203

As implied above, this can be considered an ordering of tests reflecting validity. Interestingly the integrative grammar test has the highest coefficient, surprisingly high at .877. This means that if only one test can be given, the IGT will do a better job of measuring overall competence than any other test. The second-best measure is the test of communicative competence, but only the first time administered; on the readministration the coefficient drops precipitously, to .406. The two administrations correlate with each other at only .312. This apparent weakness of reliability is probably best explained as the effect of a new and unfamiliar test when first given, which only the best students were able to cope with.

The tests with a high correlation tend to be tests with an integrative emphasis, measuring such skills as listening comprehension and dictation, in various forms. This is true even of test 14, which measures aural discrimination, since the choices are in a highly contextualized presentation. The most discrete of the tests is on spelling, and it is very near the bottom of the list.

There are some surprises. One wonders why the gapped listening tests perform so differently. Perhaps a true-false test is less discriminating than a multiple-choice with twice as many options for answers. But if so, why is the listening comprehension test, which also had a true-false format, so high on the list?

The cloze test is surprisingly low on the list in view of considerable research which suggests it is a valid measure of language competence. Even judgment of nativeness is higher, though it is difficult to know why the skills employed in such judgments should be correlated with overall competence. They certainly don't seem to reflect a relationship with aural discrimination (a low .145 correlation coefficient).

Dictations appear to be reasonably good measures, and those with extra difficulties (lack of context, masked) better than those given in a clear format (nos. 6, 16).

Finally it is instructive to look at the comparisons suggested by the coefficients between the language data tests, taken under minimum stress, and the academic assignments and tests which determined students' grades for the course. The correlations tend to be low. The composite scores for the data tests with assignments correlate at only .110, with the midterm examination .515 (the best of the term measures), with the final .304, and with the course grade .290.

Again there are some surprises. The communicative competence--1 test correlates at .383 with the midterm, but communicative competence--2 correlates at .685, moving in exactly the opposite direction shown in the correlations with the composite of the language data test scores. Apparently when students become more familiar with the format, the results are more conventional. The best correlations for individual test scores are:

		20	21	22
7	Dictation--masked		.600	
11	Cloze test	.470	.599	.527
12	Integrative grammar	.487		
13	Thumb-nail grammar	.485	.667	.555
15	Judgment of nativeness	.503	.436	.667
16	Communicative competence--2	.685	.469	

There does not seem to be a discernible pattern in these comparisons.

Of the thirteen students who produced the scores that yield these coefficients there are three that seem to be anomalous. Student 1 is the highest in the language data test, composite score at 80.7, but ranks only eighth to eleventh in the term-grade list. This student seems to perform much better when not working under pressure. A similar explanation seems to apply to student 11,

who was at the very bottom of the term-grade list, but number 6/7 on the language data tests. Another student, no. 7, ranks at the very bottom of the composite score list, but in terms of academic work was in the bracket third-to-sixth. This seemed to be a case of not taking seriously work that was described as not counting toward the course grade. Other than these three exceptions the correlations between academic and data scores for the other students seem quite high.

It seems apparent that the results of this modest study, while interesting and suggestive, are not conclusive. Probably 13 subjects is too few to adequately represent the range of students that populate Egyptian graduate courses. This is especially likely in view of the fact that about that many more students started but dropped the course, for reasons that cannot now be determined. But the technique of comparing performance scores, especially if larger groups can be tested, should yield results that are useful and interesting to specialists in testing and also of course in teaching, since tests are the best measure so far designed of success in academic endeavors.

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LANGUAGE STUDY THROUGH HYPNOSIS

Russell N. Campbell

This brief paper is offered with the hope that it will encourage any who read it to share their reactions, their ideas and their knowledge concerning the area of research discussed below.

Let me begin with a case history of 'language-loss' that must resemble thousands of other cases. My two children, Roger and Paula, spent four of the first eight and six years of their lives, respectfully, in Spanish-speaking countries (Costa Rica and Argentina). During those years, they acquired a level of proficiency in Spanish, it is my belief, precisely equal to the native speaking proficiency of their host-country peers. That is, they spoke and understood Spanish exactly like Costa Rican and Argentine children of their respective ages. They functioned in Spanish with native-like proficiency in a wide variety of social situations including interations with monolingual Spanish speaking domestics, playmates, school teachers and adult house guests. Furthermore, they reached a point where they used Spanish as the language of communication between themselves; however, they could and did switch completely from Spanish to English or English to Spanish in appropriate social situations. From all evidence, they were complete, balanced bilinguals for at least the last two years they spent in Latin America.

At the end of the four years in Latin America they returned with the family to the United States, residing for approximately two years in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Within a few weeks after their arrival there, neither of the children initiated conversations in Spanish or used Spanish words or phrases in their English speech. For a while, they would respond appropriately, in English, to questions or comments made to them in Spanish. However, within six months, they would typically shrug their shoulders or simply 'laugh-off' any attempts to communicate with them in Spanish.

After two years in Ann Arbor, they spent two and one-half years in Thailand, where, to the best of my knowledge, they never used or heard any natural communication in Spanish. Upon returning to the United States occasions arose where the children had frequent opportunities to demonstrate their ability to understand or speak Spanish. It was apparent that they were utterly incapable of either. Interestingly, Roger was even unable to comprehend written essays that he himself had composed while he was a third grade student in Argentina. Other than a few children's songs (e.g. Arroz con pollo) and a few words which they could have learned after their return from Thailand (gracias, amigo, adios, etc.) both children had apparently lost, forgotten or repressed their earlier competence in Spanish.

For years I have wondered if a language acquired so completely is in fact, after extended temporal and spatial separation, lost or does the brain, in some manner, and to some degree retain such an acquired competence? Furthermore, if it is stored, can it be retrieved or 'revivified'? In other words, are there any conditions under which Roger and Paula might reactivate their previously acquired competence in Spanish?

There is a sort of layman's intuition which suggests that such revivification is possible. All of us have heard statements such as "I used to know French very well . . . if I were to spend a short time in France, I am sure it would all come back to me." The unexpressed assumption underlying come-back-to-me must be that earlier knowledge or proficiency is retained by the brain and that extensive renewed exposure to the language would stimulate its recovery. In general, my questions, in this instance, have to do with the validity of that assumption and, if the assumption can be substantiated, the subsequent implications for research into language acquisition and language forgetting.

Several years ago, it occurred to me, as it must have to the reader by now, that some hypnotists claim that mental age-regression is sometimes possible when subjects are in a deep hypnotic state (Barber 1962, Gebhard 1961). If this were the case, would it not be possible to identify persons who were known or claimed to have spoken some language at an earlier time in their lives, age-regress them to that period and if the language were in fact stored in the brain provide an opportunity for them to demonstrate that reality? Over the years, I talked to a number of psychologists and others about this possibility, and even though no one completely rejected the notion out-of-hand, it never truly rose above a somewhat exotic topic perhaps most appropriate for cocktail party banter.

Recently, however, interest in a phenomenom referred to as 'permeability of ego boundaries' and its relations to language acquisition (Guiora 1972; Schumann 1975) on the part of a colleague at UCLA, John Schumann, has stimulated his, and my interest in hypnosis as a means of pursueing language related research questions. This joint interest lead to a computer assisted library search for previous studies of language phenomena that included hypnosis as part of the methodology. Although the results of that search were quantitatively meager, it did produce at least two articles that provided clear evidence that our previous questions regarding language retention were at least not completely fanciful.

Following is part of the abstract of one of the papers, written by Erica Fromm:

> This paper describes the case of a 26-year old, third generation Japanese-American born in California five days before Pearl Harbor, who thought he knew no Japanese. When hypnotically age-repressed to levels below age four, he spontaneously and unexpectedly spoke Japanese, while he spoke only English at the adult as well as at age-regression levels above four years. (1970)

This remarkable study has provided us with great encouragement. It seems to open up the possibility that our loosely defined assumptions concerning language storage were correct. However, neither this study nor others that we have located thus far are sufficiently conclusive to permit us more than mild optimism.

Fromm's interest in reporting her research was not linguistically oriented. She provides only minimal information on the characteristics of the subject's Japanese utterances. Typical of her comments are:

> Then suddenly, in a high pitched child's voice, Don broke into a stream of rapid Japanese.

> He had chatted about a cute dog with big eyes, and the word he had used for "eyes" was baby talk ("menme" instead of the adult word "me")."
>
> The final Japanese sentence on the tape . . . followed my saying "sayonara" (good-bye) to him. "Doshite anta wa, doshite wa, koko no hari masen?" (Why don't you, why don't you come into this place?).

As valuable as these statements are, especially in that they suggest authentic revival of an apparently lost language, they beg a number of questions. For example; (1) Had the subject recovered only a set of lexical items - either single words or chunks of speech used as lexical units - or had he recovered a system, a grammar that permitted him to generate novel sentences? (2) Was his pronunciation of Japanese typical of a 3 or 4 year old child or more similar to that of adult Japanese speakers with whom he might have associated with in later life? (3) In separate age-regressions, one time to age 4 one to age 3, was there evidence of different developmental stages in grammar and phonology just as there are definable stages in observed language acquisition studies.

These and other questions begin to define some of the possible researchable areas in language acquisition and language loss that now appear to be accessible through hypnosis.

If age-regression is in fact a genuine phenomenon and subjects can be regressed to different ages along a continuum from, say, age two to six (or six to two) can the developmental stages of language acquisition be observed in a relatively short period of time in contrast to longitudiual studies of subjects over a number of years? Or, can the progressive stages in the loss or forgetting of a language be observed under the same conditions? If so, what is lost first and what is retained longest? Could the centralness/peripheral dichotomy posited by Ross (Hatch, 1976) be substantiated and related to a theory of language forgetting through systematic age-regression research?

Whereas Fromm's (1970) study provides considerable room for optimism, a previous study by As (1961) suggests a degree of caution although he too provides evidence of language recovery in a subject while hypnotically age regressed. His subject was a young 18-year-old man who was born in Helsinki of Swedish parents who spoke Swedish in the home. When he was five, his parents were divorced and the subject and his mother emigrated to the United States where she remarried. From the age of six, English was the language of the home and the subject maintained that he " . . . had forgotten Swedish entirely except for a couple of words." At the onset of As' research the subject was given a battery of tests to substantiate his level of proficiency in Swedish prior to any attempt to hypnotize him. Subsequently, after a number of sessions during which he was progressively age regressed under hypnosis, he was retested while age-regressed to the age of five years. As reports that " . . . a clear improvement in Swedish language knowledge took place during the hypnotic regression". He reported that the subject was able to respond to certain questions, count to ten, and name certain objects in Swedish while hypnotically age-regressed that he was unable to do in his normal state. As concluded: " . . . although there was a clear and statistically significant improvement in language knowledge during the hypnotic age regression, the change, taken as a whole, was not particularly dramatic". (p. 28)

During the coming year (1976-77), we hope to carry out modified replications of the Fromm and As studies with as many well-defined questions, such as those suggested above, in mind as possible.

Other questions as to why some people learn a second language and others do not, even when both have identical opportunities to do so, lead to speculations that a variety of ego related variables are involved. Hypnosis apparently has the potential for temporarily altering ego states in certain individuals and, therefore, may provide opportunities for observing second language learning and second language performance under conditions of lowered inhibition and increased ego permeability. We will also attempt to substantiate these possibilities during the coming year.

As stated at the beginning of this paper, we would warmly welcome any ideas. suggestions or recommendations that readers might wish to offer regarding research in the use of hypnosis in language research.

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ON UNDERSTANDING AND TEACHING THE ENGLISH TENSE-ASPECT SYSTEM

Marianne Celce-Murcia

Introduction

Experienced ESL teachers will agree that the English tense-aspect system (hereafter ETAS) is one of the areas of English grammar most difficult for the non-native speaker to master. Beginning--and sometimes experienced--ESL teachers complain that they do not understand the system and are at a loss to know how to teach it effectively. Such feelings often persist even after the ESL teacher has consulted numerous ESL textbooks (e.g. Danielson and Hayden, 1973; Praninskas, 1957; etc.), reference grammars (e.g. Jespersen, 1964; Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973), and linguistic studies dealing specifically with this topic (e.g. Allen, 1966; Joos, 1968; Palmer, 1968; Twaddell, 1960).

What could be the reasons for such a state of affairs? Five possibilities come to mind:

1. The ETAS is difficult to acquire to the degree that it is different from the system used in the native language of the learner.
2. ETAS is so complex and unique, it will be difficult for any second-language learner to acquire regardless of his/her native language.
3. ETAS is so complex several generations of linguists and grammarians--although they have uncovered some interesting facts--have not been able to provide or agree on a semantically complete and accurate description.
4. Most ESL teachers or textbook writers do not understand how the ETAS operates and therefore they cannot explain it or teach it effectively to ESL students.
5. Even in cases where the ESL teacher or textbook writer understands and can verbally explain the workings of the ETAS, the students (or readers) are still having problems because effective classroom materials, exercises, and strategies are not being presented.

The reasons hypothesized in (1) and (2) are recognizable as the contrastive analysis position and the error analysis position respectively. In my experience both positions contain an element of truth. In support of the contrastive analysis position for example, I note that native speakers of Japanese and Chinese in my ESL classes have tended to have greater difficulty with the ETAS than native speakers of French or German. However, in support of the error analysis position I note that almost all of my ESL students--irrespective of native language--seem to have problems distinguishing the simple present and the present progressive; the simple past and the present perfect, etc. I do not wish to discuss the relative merits of these two positions at this time since I have done that elsewhere (Celce-Murcia, 1975).

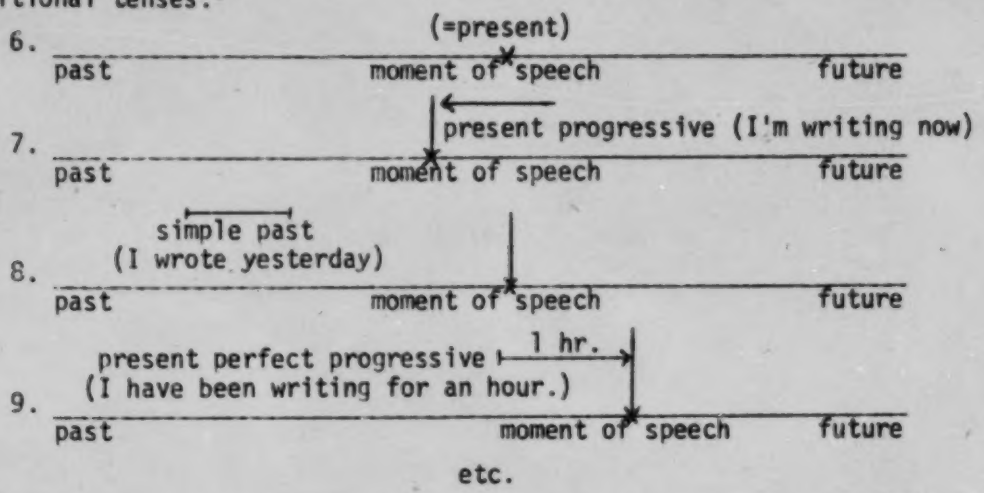
The reason given in (3) was basically correct until 1960 when the framework developed in Bull's Time, Tense, and the Verb first became available. This study is semantically far superior to the other linguistic studies cited above, and it has been adopted and used in subsequent studies of the ETAS

carried out by Macaulay (1971), Greeley (1973), Tregidgo (1974). One of the two purposes of this paper is to present a general overview and discussion of the Bull framework, which should be helpful in dealing with the fourth reason cited above.

The other purpose of the paper is to describe materials, activities, and strategies that have been adapted, developed, and used at UCLA and found to be effective for teaching the ETAS to the ESL learner. This section of the paper should be helpful in terms of counteracting the fifth reason given above for ineffective teaching and learning of the ETAS.

A Brief Overview of Other Frameworks

Traditional accounts of the English tense-aspect system have viewed time as linear and have represented the English tense-aspect system as following this linear format. This typical approach can be found in many reference grammars and ESL textbooks. See for example, Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) and Danielson and Hayden (1973), where time lines are used to explain and distinguish the traditional tenses.[1]



etc.

Such visual representations are helpful to an extent and better than nothing; however, their limitations become clear when one tries to use them to explain more complex tenses such as the past perfect or the future perfect.

The structuralist view--and to a large extent also the transformationalist view--of the ETAS has been that English has two tenses, namely, past and present (or non-past) and two aspects, namely, perfective (HAVE + the past participle of the following verb) and progressive (BE + the present participle of the following verb).[2] The expression "Future tense" was viewed as a misnomer since in English finite verbs are not and have never been inflected to express future time in the way that they are in other languages such as French. The language is viewed as having several indirect ways of signaling future time (e.g. the modal auxiliary will, the quasi modal be going to, future time adverbials such as tomorrow, next year, soon, etc.).

The Bull Framework

The neatest, most complete explication of the Bull framework applied to a description of the ETAS is in Tregidgo (1974). In this article the Bull System is explained and also related to the work of Jespersen (1964) and Allen (1966). A discussion of the Bull system is also available in Greeley (1973), but her account is less comprehensive in terms of the forms covered and accounted for. The account I provide is parallel to Tregidgo's except that my treatment of 'will' and 'be going to' differs slightly from his.

Bull's framework, which was developed for describing tense and aspect in Spanish but which can be applied to any language, posits four axes of orientation with respect to time: present, past, future and future-in-the-past. Each axis has a neutral or basic form and two possible marked forms--one signaling a time before the basic time of that axis and the other signaling a time after the basic time of that axis.

For English the axes and the forms would be as follows:

Axis of orientation	a time before the basic axis time	Basic axis time corresponding to the moment of reference	a time after the basic axis time
future time	He will have done it. (future perfect)	He will do it. (simple future) ⟷	⟷ no distinct form rare usage--see #10
present time	He has done it. (present perfect)	He does it. (simple present)	He is going to do it.
past time	He had done it. (past perfect)	He did it. (simple past)	He was going to do it.
future-in-the-past time	He would have done it.	He would do it. ⟷	⟷ no distinct form rare usage--see #13

⟷ = the form can also be used in another category that has no distinct form

⟷ = the forms sometimes seem to switch back and forth with each other because of similarities in meaning and reference

To better understand the above classification consider the following brief narratives and dialog--one for each of the four axes of orientation:

future time axis

10. John will travel to Europe this summer. Before doing that he will have completed his B.A. in Math. After he returns to the States, he will begin graduate work in Management.

present time axis

11. I have a splitting headache that I've had for two hours. I think I'm going to take a couple of aspirin tablets. [possible substitution - "I will/I'll" for "I'm going to"]

past time axis

12. The little girl cried her heart out. She had lost her Teddy Bear and was convinced she wasn't ever going to find him. [possible substitution: "would never" for "wasn't ever/was never going to"]

future-in-the-past time axis

13. A: I would go to the movies if I had the money. In fact I would have gone yesterday if my paycheck had come in the mail.
B: I'd lend you the money if that would please you.

The above short texts demonstrate that narratives exhibiting tense harmony can be composed when the author stays within one of the time axes described in the table on p. 3. When necessary, he may refer to a before-time or an after-time, but it is important that he stay in the same axis.

Now consider 12' which incorporates time changes in the axis of orientation not found in (12):

12'. The little girl cries her heart out. She lost her Teddy Bear and is convinced she won't ever find him.

The (12') version of the narrative is comprehensible and not obviously ungrammatical but it comes out sounding disjointed and awkward when compared with the original. However, if a similar set of changes in the axis of orientation is applied to (11), the resulting narrative (11') does have an ungrammatical tense in the second sentence:

11'. *I have a splitting headache that I had for two hours. I think I will take a couple of aspirin tablets.

In (11') the simple past 'had' is used where the present perfect 'have had' is required.

The classification presented above proposes that the so-called perfect aspect is really an integral part of the English tense system--i.e., all the perfect forms signal "a time before the basic time" in each of the axes of orientation that Bull posits. If these are the English tenses, what then is aspect in English? We are left with the progressive aspect (BE plus the -ing form of the main verb) which is used to signal different meanings with semantically different types of verbs.

For example, with verbs of state the progressive aspect signals a temporary or specific as opposed to a permanent to non-specific state of affairs.

14. a. He's living with his parents.
b. He lives with his parents.

15. a. He was working as a waiter.
b. He worked as a waiter.

With punctual action verbs the progressive aspect is used to signal iteration as opposed to a single act.

16. a. He was kicking the ball.
b. He kicked the ball.

With activity verbs the progressive aspect suggests a single occurrence rather than regular or habitual occurrence.

17. a. John is washing the car.
    b. John washes the car.

With durative action verbs the progressive aspect may signal non-completion as opposed to completion of the action in question.

18. a. I have been reading the book.
    b. I have read the book.

For further discussion of the progressive aspect and the semantic nuances it can bring to any verb class or verb tense see Macaulay (1971) and Greeley (1973).

There are, of course, a number of additional points to learn about the ETAS such as the use of the simple present to express future time (19) and past time (20), and the use of the quasi modal "used to" with the simple past to explicitly signal past habit as opposed to a single event in the past (21).

19. The plane leaves at 10 p.m.

20. John closes the door and sits down.
    (i.e., the narrative or 'historical' present which is the past recreated in the present)

21. a. He walked the dog.
    b. He used to walk the dog.

However, such cases can easily be learned as special conventions and the majority of forms and functions are coherently accounted for in the Bull framework presented in the chart on p. 3.

The Bull Framework and the Work of Other Linguists

Having presented the Bull framework one might wish to raise the question of whether the above analysis differs substantially from previous analyses of the ETAS, and if so, how. The Bull framework permits an analysis of the ETAS that is like traditional accounts such as Jespersen's in that meaning has priority over form and in the retention of the traditional terminology for the tenses (see footnote 1). It is, however, considerably more complex than traditional accounts in that not just one but four parallel time lines must be used to illustrate and explicate the system. The Bull framework is also more sophisticated and subtle than the structural or the usual transformational account[3] of the ETAS in the way that it allows the so-called perfective aspect to be a marker of "a time before" in each of the various axes with the result that the progressive is analyzed as the only marker of aspect in the ETAS. The only studies done in the transformational framework that to my knowledge are in harmony with this point of view are Hofmann (1966), Macaulay (1971), and Thompson and Kirsner (1974).

Hofmann's work reinforces the notion of perfective aspect marking past time since he notes examples such as the following where he describes have... EN "replacement" of past tense in certain embedded clauses with non-finite verbs:

22. I'll never forget his { ?doing / having done } it.
    (=He did it and I'll never forget it.)

23. He is believed to { *be / have been } an actor.
    (=Some people believe that he once was an actor.)

Macaulay explicitly states that the progressive is the only real aspect in English and proceeds to show how this aspect interacts with the lexical nature of the English verb to signal meaning differences such as those mentioned in (14), (15), (16), (17) and (18). Macaulay's study, however, goes into considerably greater detail than my few examples suggest.

Similar functions of the progressive aspect--even though they are reluctant to label it as that--are discussed by Thompson and Kirsner (1974) in their description of plain vs. -ing complements of sensory verbs such as see, hear, feel, smell, watch, observe, etc. Thompson and Kirsner point out that the -ing form of such complements is used to contrast with the plain form in a number of specific ways that they say all reflect "unbounded" versus "bounded" time:

24. an incomplete vs. completed action

I saw John {running / run} across the field.

25. an iterative vs. a single action

I heard the shuttle {rattling / rattle}.

26. an aimless act vs. an act of purpose

I watched Judy just {sitting / sit} there.

Note: The purpose here is one of obstinate refusal.

The examples in (24) and (25) are very similar to those cited earlier in (16) and (18) to distinguish progressive and non-progressive verb tenses, and should be thought of as reflecting the same general phenomena in English.

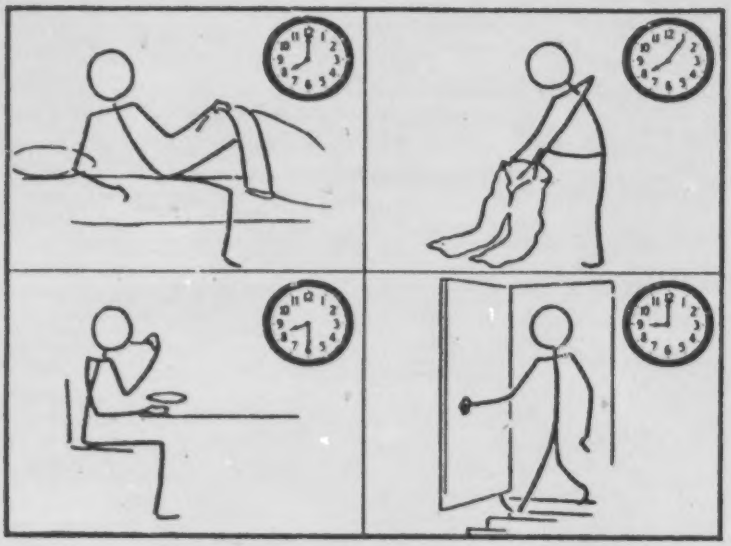
Teaching Applications

The most important teaching consideration coming out of the preceding theoretical survey is that all learning of the ETAS should take place in context, i.e., the teacher must, first of all, establish the appropriate temporal axis of orientation and secondly provide contexts that allow for natural practice of the forms involved. To this end we have been making elaborate use of activity charts in our UCLA Service courses. Since our charts are very similar to one presented in Finocchiao (1974, p. 103) and since I can't draw,--I have simply reproduced Finocchiaro's original chart (27), along with two variants of this kind of chart that we have used at UCLA--i.e., (28) and (29). The teacher should decide whether regular or digital clock time should be indicated and whether the activity taking place in each picture should be described in infinitive form or not.

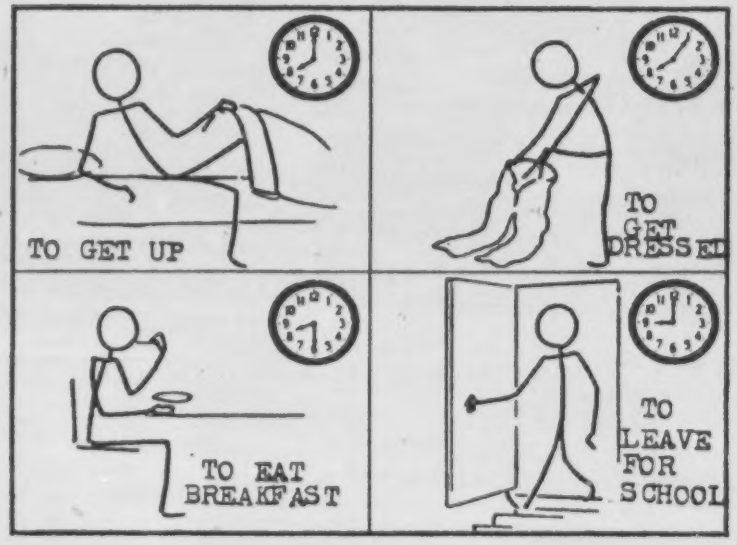
Finocchiaro's suggestions for using such charts are brief:

> "A good use of situation pictures...would be the practice of complex sentences with before, after, and while. The pictures could show individuals doing something... Each should contain a clock with an hour clearly marked. You can then practice patterns such as: (He) (always) (eats) before (he goes out), (he) (ate) before (he) (went out), Did (he) (go out) after (he ate)? What did (he) do after (he ate)?"
>
> (Finocchiaro, 1974, p. 102)

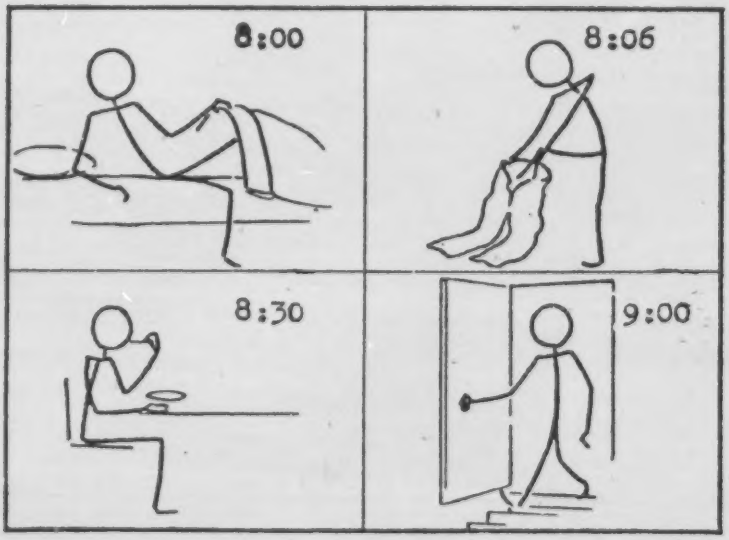
27.



28.


TO GET UP
TO GET DRESSED
TO EAT BREAKFAST
TO LEAVE FOR SCHOOL

29.


8:00
8:06
8:30
9:00

While these are valuable suggestions, our own use of such picture charts has been elaborated into a rather efficient means of presenting and reviewing the ETAS with ESL students at all levels of proficiency.[4] We use two large wall charts, each of which depicts four of the following eight activities:

30. John's Daily Activities:

Chart I	6:30 a.m.	-- get up
	7:00 "	-- fix breakfast
	7:45 "	-- go to UCLA
	9:00 "	-- attend Math class (a lecture)
Chart II	12:15 p.m.	-- talk to Mary
	12:30 "	-- eat lunch
	2:30 "	-- study in library
	4:30 "	-- go to work

Depending on which tense the teacher is presenting or reviewing, certain key questions are used to establish the context and the appropriate time axis:

31. Key questions for teaching each verb form using the charts:

a. pres: What does John do {everyday? / at 7 o'clock?}

b. pres. prog.: It's 6:30 a.m. What is John doing now?

c. past: What did John do {yesterday? / at 7:45?}

d. past prog.: What was John doing yesterday at 9:00?

e. pres. perf.: It's 6:35. What has John just done?
It's 2:30. {What has John already done? / What hasn't he done yet?}

f. past perf.: What had John already done by noon yesterday?
What hadn't he done yet?

g. fut.: What will John do tomorrow?/What is John going to do tomorrow?

h. fut. prog.: What will John be doing at 2:30 tomorrow?

i. fut. perf.: What will John have done by 4:00 tomorrow?

In such cases an appropriate initial teaching sequence with low proficiency university students might be the following:

32. a. teacher presents the story referring to the appropriate picture in the chart while students listen

(for simple present) Every day John gets up at 6:30 in the morning. At 7 o'clock he fixes breakfast, and then he goes to UCLA at 7:45, etc.

b. teacher presents story in sequence, students repeat

c. teacher asks Questions in sequence, students answer

E.G. T: What does John do at 6:30?
S: He gets up.

d. teacher asks questions out of sequence, students answer

e. teacher gives a time cue and one student asks the question while another answers

E.G. T: 9:00
S_1: What does John do at 9:00?
S_2: He attends math class.

f. teacher initiates a few chain drills

E.G. T: I get up at 7 o'clock. (to a student) What time do you get up?
S_1: I get up at 6 o'clock. (to S_2) What time do you get up?
Etc.

g. Indirect cuing by T.: Ali, ask Emilia what she does every day? Students take turns asking each other questions and describing some of the activities they do every day.

h. Based on the pictures students write up a narrative describing what John does every day (can be done in groups and corrected in class)

i. For homework each student writes up a similar narrative describing what he/she does everyday.

More proficient students needing only a brief review will not require all these steps. This sequence can be modified by the teacher to best suit the needs of his/her ESL class. The charts can be used both for an initial presentation of one tense or a review of one or more tenses.

These charts, however, do have their limitations--especially when one is dealing with the more complicated perfective-progressive verb forms. To teach these more advanced forms we use an imaginary biography giving details of someone's past, present, and future life. This can be effectively presented in the form of a scroll (33). The scroll would normally appear as one long piece of paper (that the teacher could slowly unroll to create suspense); however, it is presented above as two segments due to limitations of space. A large width of shelf paper is used for drawing the scroll and masking tape is used to attach the scroll to the front classroom wall or blackboard. Some of the key questions for teaching the more complex verb forms are:

34. Key questions for use of scroll

a. pres. perf. prog.: It's 1970. (For) how long has Diana been living in Chicago?

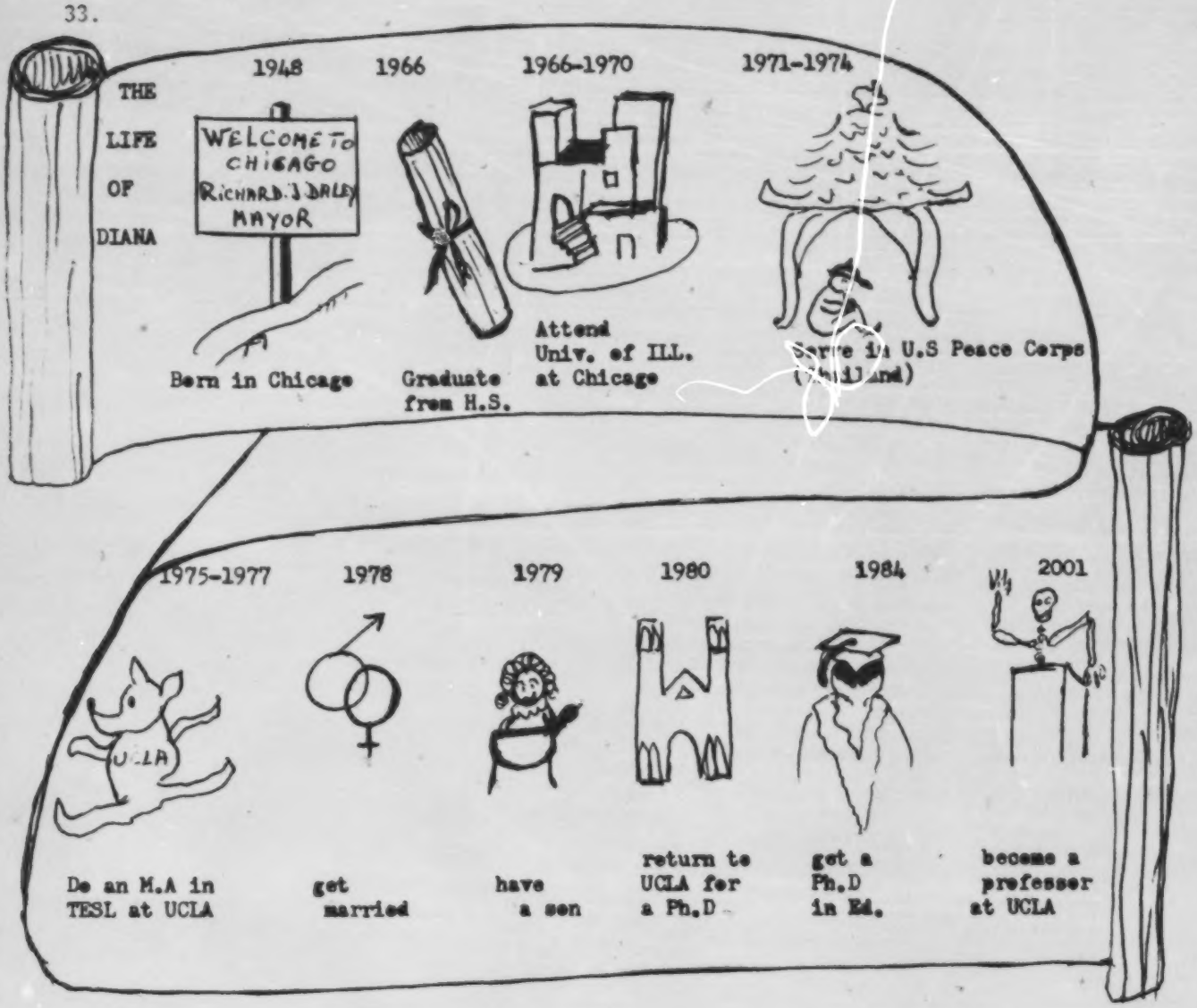
b. past perf. prog.: In 1968, (for) how long had Diana been attending the University of Illinois?

c. fut. perf. prog.: In 1983, (for) how many years will Diana have been working on her Ph.D.?

Note that the scroll can be used to teach or review simpler tense forms as well. Again we make it a point to follow up such practice with questions relevant to the students in the class, e.g.:

.How long have you been living in L.A.?
.How long had you been living in Tunis before you came to L.A.?
.By the time you get your degree, how long will you have been at UCLA?

33.



Innovations of UCLA Graduate Students for Teaching ETAS

An autobiographical extension of the scroll exercise has been used to good advantage by Bill Gaskill as the basis of a writing exercise in advanced ESL classes. Using the topic "Turning points in my life," Mr. Gaskill gets each student to draw a time line with past and present (and possibly future) events that are of importance to that student. The student must then write an essay based on this time line and should take care to use the English tenses appropriately.

Doug Thompson has developed a good strategy for reviewing the simple present and the present progressive and then presenting the "used to" construction and

the simple past as semantically similar forms occurring in the past as opposed to the present axis.

35.

time	a specific action	a habitual action
present axis	I am writing a letter now.	I write my parents once a week.
past axis	I wrote a letter yesterday.	I used to write my grandmother every weekend.

Mr. Thompson then proceeds to provide his students practice with the contrast between past and present habits--e.g., Al used to live in Santa Monica but now he lives in Westwood. He used to go to Santa Monica City College, but now he goes to UCLA, etc.

Susan Ulm has devised an interesting type of exercise for getting students to understand the distinction between the present perfect and the simple past. She provides her students with two forms of the same information, varies the time of the context, and asks them to use the appropriate tense. For example,

36.

Time	Situation
8 a.m.	
9 a.m.	I haven't eaten breakfast this morning. (i.e., it's still "morning")
10 a.m.	
11 a.m.	
1 p.m.	I didn't eat breakfast this morning. (i.e., it's no longer "morning")
2 p.m.	

37.

Time	Situation
Feb. 1	
Feb. 15	Have you paid your federal income tax? (i.e., there's still time to pay)
Mar. 1	
Mar. 15	
Apr. 1	
Apr. 15	
Apr. 16	Did you pay your federal income tax? (i.e., the deadline has passed)
May 1	
May 15	

As part of a larger study on the present perfect, Ray Moy (1974) has come to the following conclusions (38) and offers the following suggestions (39):

Conclusions

38. a. The present perfect needs a "present" situation to which it can link the past. The time axis to which the present perfect belongs is the present.

b. In no case is the present perfect obligatorily used. Usage is basically left up to a writer or speaker depending on his feelings of the current relevance of a past situation or action to the present situation.

c. Exercise in which the students select the present perfect based on the adverb which occurs in a sentence should not be used. Instead students should do exercises involving the identification of present situations to which the verbs expressed in the present perfect are likely.

39. Teaching sequence suggested:

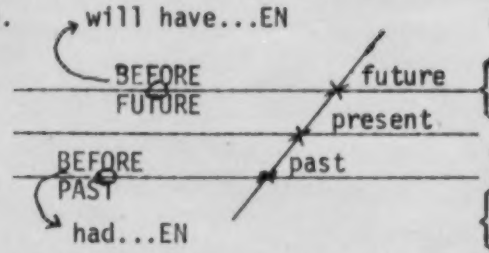
a. teach identification of present perfect

b. give them a text using present perfect and ask them to identify the present situations expressed or implied

c. give them present perfect sentences without context and ask them to make up present situations that provide appropriate contexts for the subjects

Making explicit use of the Bull system Kathi Bailey has devised a lesson for simultaneous review of the past perfect and the future perfect, thus making use of the semantic relationships and the adverbial markers they share.

40.



John will arrive at 9 p.m.

{By that time / Before then} . will have finished the book.

John arrived at 9 p.m.

{By that time / Before then} I had finished the book.

I am certain other useful and ingenious strategies for teaching ETAS have been developed by our teaching assistants; however, the above are the ones that have come to my attention. I hope that other TA's who have developed successful exercises will bring them to my attention so that they can be added to this inventory.

Additional Suggestions

I would like to conclude this article with three additional teaching suggestions.

The first one concerns the use of our student information sheet to teach some of the simple tenses. In our intermediate and advanced service courses we encourage our teaching assistants to compile a class information sheet like the following during the first week of class for distribution to the entire class.

41.

Full Name	Name to be used in class	Native country	Native language	Other languages	Major field	Hobbies
Maria-Elena Alvarado	Maria	Mexico	Spanish	English French	Nursing	Reading Cooking
Mohamed Ali Bahman	Ali	Egypt	Arabic	English	Engineering	Photography Travel
Manssor Ghafari	Manny	Iran	Farsi (Persian)	English German	Physics	Collecting records Movies
Eiko Hakata	Eiko	Japan	Japanese	Chinese English	Oriental Languages	Cooking Painting

Etc.

Subsequently, we urge the regular use of this information as a part of class lessons to insure that the students get to know each other as well as to stimulate communication. Among other things, the sheet can be used to practice and review the following tenses:

42. a. simple present: Who comes from Mexico?
Does Ali speak Arabic or Persian?
b. present progressive: Who is studying physics?
Maria, are you studying medicine?
c. simple past: Did you collect records in Iran?
When did you first learn to cook?
d. present perfect: For how long have you been interested in photography?
Since when have you painted pictures?
e. "going to" future: Are you going to go to Mexico for Christmas vacation?
Are you going to return to Iran when you finish your degree?

Etc.

My second and third suggestions both consist of writing activities. The second one is the use of time charts such as the one shown in (27) to elicit a written text. The teacher would provide the proper time axis before the students start writing (e.g., "These are the things John does every day. Write a paragraph about them." or "These are the things John did yesterday. Write them in the form of a narrative." etc.) Here the use of transitional time expressions --as well as the tenses themselves--can be taught and practiced (e.g., First, next, after that, then, finally, etc.)

My final suggestion is that ESL teachers give their intermediate and advanced students opportunities to write many texts (first short, then longer) such as the ones presented in the passages and dialogs provided in (10) thru (13) so they develop the ability to utilize each of the four English time axes to their full extent. In pursuing such exercises, the teaching sequence should probably be present axis, the past axis, the future axis and then the future-in-the-past axis.

Footnotes

1. The 12 "traditional" tenses are:

simple present	present perfect
present continuous (or progressive)	present perfect continuous
simple past	past perfect
past continuous	past perfect continuous
simple future	future perfect
future continuous	future perfect continuous

2. For the structuralist point of view, see Joos (1968); for the transformationalist point of view, see Chomsky (1957, 1965).

3. The transformational phrase structure rule for expanding the auxiliary of the verb phrase is as follows: Aux --> Tense (M) (HAVE...EN) (BE...ING) tense is further expanded as --> $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{past}\\\text{pres}\end{Bmatrix}$, which means that in the deep structure the auxiliary will contain an obligatory past or present tense marker, an optional modal auxiliary followed by an optional perfective aspect and an optional progressive aspect in that order.

4. I would like to point out that my first experience with such charts occurred during the summer of 1963, at which time I was working with Fraida Dubin and Elite Ohlshtain on a Peace Corps Training Program. We were responsible for the ESL training component and had decided that such charts would be a good way of showing PCVs how to teach the English tense system.

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ESL TEACHER SPEECH AS INPUT TO THE ESL LEARNER*

DIANE LARSEN-FREEMAN

In 1973 second language acquisition researchers, Dulay and Burt, reported that they had found an order of acquisition[1] of eight English morphemes for Spanish-speaking children learning English as a Second Language. Their claim that a certain morpheme was acquired earlier or later than other morphemes was based on the relative number of times a subject correctly supplied that morpheme in obligatory contexts (Brown, 1973).

Following Dulay and Burt's report further "morpheme studies" were undertaken. The results of these studies showed that the morpheme order originally reported for children was also characteristic of adult ESL learners (Bailey, Madden and Krashen, 1974; Larsen-Freeman, 1975b). Furthermore, although learners from different native language backgrounds did exhibit slightly different acquisition orders, there was still a strikingly similar pattern in the morpheme acquisition order of all learners (Dulay and Burt, 1974; Larsen-Freeman, 1975b). Finally, although tasks involving different modalities did elicit different morpheme orders, morpheme ranks in various oral production tasks remained fairly stable (Larsen-Freeman, 1975b).

Prompted to search for the reason why learners regularly supply certain morphemes more accurately than others, Larsen-Freeman (1976) examined the common oral production morpheme sequence for a possible determinant. Morpheme complexity, learner variables, instructional procedures, operating strategies and the nature of English input were all considered. Significant positive correlations were only obtained when the morpheme acquisition order was compared with the frequency of occurrence of these same morphemes in English native-speaker speech.

Since the morpheme frequencies used in this comparison were based on speech samples of English-speaking parents conversing with their children (as reported in Brown, 1973), it was felt that it was premature to claim that frequencies of occurence was the principle determinant of the ESL acquisition order. It would be necessary to examine morpheme frequencies in the type of input an ESL learner would likely encounter. In order to accomplish this, two low level university ESL classes (33A at UCLA) were taped for one hour a week throughout the 1976 Winter term. The classes were taught by different instructors, each adhering to a syllabus of her own devising.

*I wish to thank Virginia Strom and Nazli Rizk, graduate students in TESL, for their help with this project.

Footnotes

1. Since this is the term used in the literature, I have adopted it here. I believe "accuracy order" to be a more desirable label, however.

From a total of twenty hours of recorded instruction, three hours were randomly selected from the tapes of each class. For the one class the tapes were from weeks 1, 3 and 7. For the other class the tapes were from weeks 2, 6 and 9. The six hours were transcribed and morpheme frequency counts were made from the teachers' speech for the nine morphemes most often studied by second language acquisition researchers. (For a detailed description see Larsen-Freeman, 1975a).

Table 1 reveals the frequency ranks of the nine morphemes in descending order for both classes for the six hours of transcribed tapes.

TABLE 1

Frequency Ranks for Nine Morphemes from ESL Teacher Speed

Morphemes	Class A Tapes			Class B Tapes		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Article	1	1	1	1	1	1
Copula	2	2	2	3	2	3
Plural	3	3	3	2	3	2
Progressive "ing"	4	4	4	4	5.5	6
Third Person Singular	5	5	5	6	7	7
Regular Past Tense	6	7	6	5	5.5	4
Progressive Auxiliary	7	8	8	8	8	8
Possessive	8	9	9	9	9	9
Irregular Past Tense	9	6	7	7	4*	5

*The grammar component of this class dealt with irregular past tense which would account for its higher rank.

The similarity across classes is readily apparent. A Kendall's coefficient of concordance was performed and was significant at the .001 level (W=.90).

Next, Spearman rank correlation coefficients were calculated between each of the teacher speech frequency orders and Brown's (1973) reported frequency order determined by a count of the morphemes in the speech of English-speaking parents to their children. Table 2 gives these correlations.

TABLE 2

Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficients Between Morpheme Frequency Counts from ESL Teacher Speeck and Brown (1973)

	Class A Tapes			Class B Tapes		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Brown* (1973)	.633 sig .034	.666 sig .025	.616 sig .038	.533 sig .070	.585 sig .049	.416 sig .132

*Brown's order

1. copula 2. article 3. progressive "ing" 4. progressive auxiliary 5. plural 6. irregular past tense 7. possessive 8. third person singular 9. regular past tense

Thus, in four of six possible cases the morpheme frequency ranks were correlated significantly at the .05 level.

The morpheme frequencies in the teachers' speech were next compared to the oral production morpheme acquisition order from Larsen-Freeman (1975b). Table 3 gives the Spearman rank correlation coefficients.

TABLE 3

Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficients between Morpheme Frequency Counts from ESL Teacher Speech and Larsen-Freeman (1975b)

	Class A Tapes			Class B Tapes		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Larsen-Freeman (1975b)*	.733 sig .012	.650 sig .029	.683 sig .021	.650 sig .029	.493 sig .088	.433 sig .122

*Larsen-Freeman's order (Phase I)
1. progressive "ing' 2. copula 3. article 4. progressive auxiliary 5. plural 6. regular past 7. third person singular, 8. irregular past tense 9. possessive

Again we see in four of the six comparisons the morpheme ranks from two sources were correlated significantly at the .05 level.

Finally, the frequencies of the morphemes in the ESL teachers' speech were compared to Dulay and Burt's morpheme acquisition order (1974). Table 4 gives the resulting Spearman rank correlation coefficients.

TABLE 4

Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficients between Morpheme Frequency Counts from ESL Teacher Speech and Dulay and Burt (1974)

	Class A Tapes			Class B Tapes		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Dulay and Burt (1974)*	.783 sig .006	.750 sig .010	.766 sig .008	.783 sig .006	.744 sig .011	.700 sig .018

*Dulay and Burt's order

1. article 2. copula 3. progressive "ing" 4. plural 5. progressive auxiliary 6. regular past tense 8 possessive 9. third person singular

As Table 4 shows, all six correlations are significant, including four at the .01 level. The highly significant correlations obtained when comparing the Dulay and Burt morpheme order with the ESL teacher speech frequency order is probably due to the fact that the subject population studied by Dulay and Burt, one hundred fifteen, was much larger that that of the other studies.

The final statistical measure employed was the Kendall coefficient of concordance among twelve morpheme orders: six from the ESL teacher speech, four from Larsen-Freeman's 1975a study (orders from an oral-production task and an elicited imitation task each administered twice), Brown's 1973 frequency order and Dulay and Burt's 1974 acquisition order. The coefficient of concordance was found to be significant at the .001 level (W=.70).

The evidence cited here is supportive of the hypothesis that the frequency of occurrence of the nine morphemes in English native-speaker speech is the principle determinant of the oral production ESL morpheme acquisition order.

While it is very exciting that we now seem to have found an answer for why learners supply certain morphemes more accurately than others, the implications for such a finding are by no means clear. It would appear, as Hatch (1975) has already contended, that second language acquisition researchers should pay more attention to the input to which the learner is exposed than has previously been afforded. Another implication suggested by Schumann (personal communication) is that rather than the second language learner

being a "rule-former", perhaps the learner is occupied with the task of trying to match what is salient in what he hears in the target language. Finally, at least with regard to morpheme form, researchers must now contend with the implication that an S-R explanation is not untenable--the more frequently a stimulus is encountered by the learner, the more often the learner is likely to supply it accurately in an obligatory context.

Each of these implications is intriguing in turn, and certainly warrants further consideration.

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DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, SPEECH ACTS AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Evelyn Hatch*

In this paper, I want to review a very small part of the work we have done on discourse analysis, specifically on conversational analysis of young children learning a second language. Current research appears to center around the order of acquisition of various structures of English (AUX development, negation, question formation or the easy/eager distinction, promise/tell patterns, etc.) or on acquisition of English morphology by the second language learner. In an attempt to explain why the child produces the forms that he does, whatever their order might be, earlier papers (Gough & Hatch, 1975; Larsen-Freeman, 1976) have suggested that frequency in the input must be the prime factor influencing the order of acquisition. This has caused us to consider input more seriously. It is impossible to do that without turning to conversational analysis.

Our basic premise has long been that the child learns some basic set of syntactic structures, moving from a one-word phase to a two-word phase to more complex structures, and that eventually the child is able to put these structures together in order to carry on conversations with others. The premise, if we use discourse analysis, is the converse. That is, language learning, even at one and two-word stages, evolves out of learning how to carry on conversations.

The data that I want to discuss today is from two different kinds of interviews: first, between child learner and adult investigator and, second, between child language learner and child native speaker. The data from these two sources is quite different in nature, it is different in terms of what the child has an opportunity to learn, and it is different in terms of the kinds of speech acts involved.

What does the child have to do to talk with an adult? Keenan has pointed out that the first step the child must make in conversation is to get the attention of the person with whom he wishes to speak. This can be accomplished by banging a spoon or by calling a name. This first step is also clear in data of second-language learning children:

(Huang, 1970, Taiwanese, 5 years, Paul)

Paul:	(To Kenny) You-you-you-you!
NS:	Huh?
Paul:	I-see-you
	Kenny
Paul:	Oh-oh!
NS:	What?
Paul:	This. (points to an ant)
NS:	It's an ant.
Paul:	Ant.

*I wish to thank Joseph Huang, Harumi Itoh, Denise Young, and Sabrina Peck for allowing me access to their data transcripts from which I have taken examples for this paper.

Attention words (e.g., oh-oh, hey, the listener's name, lookit) are very frequent in child-child interactions. However, this does not mean that every time the second language learner wants to nominate a discourse topic, he first uses one of these attention markers. In adult-child conversation, when a child is being studied, the investigator is almost always attending to the child (unlike a more natural situation). In child-child discourse, where it is more difficult to get the partner's attention, the first step is much more frequent.

Once the learner has secured the attention of his adult conversational partner, the second task is to get the partner to attend to the topic of discourse. He can do this by pointing to what he wants to have noticed or he may use other deitics:

Paul: oh-oh!
NS: What?
Paul: that (points at box)

(Young, 1974, Spanish, 5½, Juan)
(Juan has finished drinking milk)
NS: All gone?
Juan: (No response. Points at band-aid.) This.
NS: Cut.
Juan: Cut.

While many children appear to favor that as a topic nominator, Paul's favorite was this: Paul (pointing toward drum) this, this, this!

In a frame, then, the first task for the learner is to get his partner's attention, the second is direct that attention to the topic for conversation. In response, the adult usually identifies the object nominated:

Paul: this (points)
NS: A pencil.
Paul: pencil

One might claim that it is from these conversational exchanges that connected utterances of more than one word develop:

Juan: that
NS: It's a truck.
Juan: truck

Juan: that+++truck (falling intonation on each word)

It is possible that such 'two-word' utterances (or two, one-word utterances which follow each other) are propositions (There exists a truck.). It is more sensible, I think, to simply gloss them as establishing the topic 'notice the truck'. In turn (unless the task is one of looking at picture books and naming the objects seen), the adult does not interpret such utterances as 'this+++NOUN' as a piece of information. Rather, he accepts it as a topic of conversation. He does not seem to react as if the child were telling him names of things.

If one can accept that a call for attention ('oh-oh' etc.), a pointing out of a topic ('this', etc.) and the learner's and partner's identifying remarks serve to nominate a topic for conversation, then we have accounted for the presence of such utterances as 'This+++NOUN' in the early data of our learners. That is, we are saying that this particular structure evolves out of discourse. It evolves not because of some magic about frequency but because of the conscious desire of the child to say something, to talk about something.

In some of the data, securing the listeners' attention and nominating the topic make up most of the learner's contribution to the conversation:

(Young, 1974, Spanish, 6, Enrique)

Enrique: Lookit. Look. Look at dat. Lookit dat. Hey, lookit. Ah ha! Bxxx (laugh) Lookit. /hwa I dæt/? Lookit. Lookit. Dat one. Lookit. Oh, lookit, dat one. Wow, Hey, lookit. Hey, /hi bədiflaI bədIflaI/. Hey, eeek. Oooh, lookit /dæ/. Lookit dat one! Eeek, lookit! Oooh, lookit dat one. Oooh /ə tɛssɤ/. Oooh, a big one. Lookit, etc.

Once the child has secured the listener's attention and has nominated a topic, what happens in the discourse with an adult? Scollon, in his dissertation on a child learning English as a first language, shows how the learner and the partner together build a conversation once the topic is understood. In first language acquisition, of course, there is a good deal of difficulty in getting the topic understood:

(Scollon, 1974, English, Brenda)

Brenda: (a car passes in the street. R does not hear it.) /k^{h}a/ (repeated 4 times)
R: What?
Brenda: /gɔo/ /go/
S: XXX
Brenda: /bəiš/ (nine repetitions)
R: What? Oh, bicycle? Is that what you said?
Brenda: /naʔ/
R: No?
Brenda: /naʔ/
R: No--I got it wrong. (laugh)

The young second-language learner also may have some degree of difficulty in getting his topic nominations recognized though the problems in control of the vocal apparatus are much less severe. The youngest children do have trouble in getting close enough to the adult model for specific words for the adult to recognize them: for example, Takahiro makes 9 attempts at 'square' during one exchange. And occasionally, the adult does not attend closely enough to the child to recognize a topic nomination and respond appropriately:

(Adult is reading a story)
Juan: Lookit /də daIm/
NS: What?
Juan: /də daIm/.
NS: What?
Juan: (points to picture) /dæt/
NS: Oh, the vine.
Juan: yeˈ
NS: (continues reading) There was no room anymore--
Juan: (frustrated) I know. I know. Not you. Not you.

When the adult does recognize the topic, he responds to it appropriately, and his response is usually a question. The questions require, or at least help,

the child to get his one or two-word utterances into a semantically related series:

(Scollon, 1974, English, Brenda)
Brenda: Kimby.
R: What about Kimby?
Brenda: close
R: Closed? What did she close, hmmm?
Brenda: (looking in picture book at an old woman at a stove)
cook
say
R: What'd the cook say?
Brenda: something

While first language researchers are more interested in describing the child's output in such cases in terms of agent-action-object, entity-attribute, action-locative, etc., what is especially interesting is that the questions of the adult force the child to put his utterance in this order. Out of these interactions (which Scollon calls vertical structures) develop syntactic structures (which Scollon calls horizontal structures). That is, the words that the child produces one at a time are semantically linked. When the adult asks for more information with questions, he asks for a constituent to fill out the construction. It appears quite clear that the adult takes the child's first utterance as a topic nomination and then asks for clarification or comment on it. The clarification or comment is semantically related by such questions and the relationship is later made more explicit through syntax. Scollon believes, therefore, that "this interaction with other speakers may well be the means by which Brenda has learned how to construct" syntactic relationships.

The child also begins to produce vertical structures without adult prompting after each word:

Brenda	my turn	this way	bathtub
see that	do it	hold it (3 X)	scrub it (2 X)
		holding (2 X)	paper napkin

but obviously adult questions help her to get all the relationships out:

Brenda: tape corder
use it (2 X)
NS: Use it for what?
Brenda: talk
corder talk
Brenda talk

From many such examples, Scollon has built a convincing argument that these vertical structures form the proto-types for longer horizontal constructions at a later period. "This suggests that. . . discourse structure is at the heart of sentence structure from the beginning of its development."

Our evidence seems to show this same sort of progression in the child-adult discourse of second language learners. However, there is a difference that must be accounted for. The learner in this case has already learned to make syntactic constructions (Scollon's horizontal structures) in his first language. Why doesn't he immediately do so in the second? He has little difficulty physiologically in getting out long streams of speech; therefore, we

can't say that the problem is completely in controlling the vocal apparatus. The explanation appears to be that the child is attending to the rules of conversational discourse.

Let's look at the first example:

Paul: This boat.
NS: Mmhmm boat.
Paul: this
my boat.

Why doesn't Paul start immediately with 'my boat' or 'this my boat'? It would not be beyond his ability to do so. But if we look at conversation function, we know that he must first make sure that the adult has identified the topic for the following discourse (much in the same way that the adult primes the topic 'You see that boat?' and gets a response before saying 'Well, that's mine.'). Following is another example of prior establishment of topic:

Paul: this
NS: Yes?
Paul: this you?
NS: It's Kenny's.

Again, Paul identifies the topic of discourse first before he asks who the ball belongs to.

In the following example, Paul tries to establish a topic but the adult, in turn, nominates another which Paul then must respond to:

Paul: fish
see?
NS: Where's the turtle?
Paul: turtle
NS: Mmhmm. Is he in there?
Paul: no turtle
fish

The next example from Huang's data shows the child establishing a topic and defending his vocabulary choice for that topic:

Paul: this
NS: What?
Paul: window (looking at fish tank)
NS: Where's the window (=challenge?)
Paul: window
this
NS: Another window. Show me.
Paul: another window (echo)
NS: Hmmm. Is this a <u>window</u> here?
Paul: yah
window fish
not window car.

He even responds to requests for imitations as though they were topic nominations on which he should elaborate:

NS: Paul, can you say 'teacher'?
Paul: teacher

NS: Right, teacher.
Paul: Teacher
Elsie. (name of his nursery-school teacher)
NS: Very good.

While obeying conversation rules, the learner is still subjected to the same kinds of questions as those found in the Scollon data. And the questions do help to get constituents in order:

Juan: Teacher.
Lookit. (holds up 25¢)
NS: Mmhmm. A quarter.
Juan: quarter
NS: For what?
Juan: for Monday. (the day milk money is due)
NS: On Monday? For what?
Juan: for milk.

As the child learns more and more English, the conversation rules of discourse continue to shape much of the data of our second language learners:

Enrique: Hey, lookit /dæ ka:/ (attention, topic nomination)
NS: Mmhmm.
Enrique: dat beauty
/dæ ka:/ (comment)
You got /dæ ka:/? (question)
NS: No, mine's a different color. It's brown.
Enrique: I gotta yellow. /dæt/ gotta white. Yeh. I gotta yellow.
yeh, I got one /hwaI/ (=white?) Uh-huh.
Jesus: I gotta Ford dealer and I gotta Toyota my mother.

A number of people who work in the field of conversational analysis have said that the first rule of conversation must be to 'say something relevant.' The data that we have looked at so far shows that the child does just that. However, what happens when the child knows this rule for conversation from his first language but knows absolutely none of the second language? How does he 'say something relevant' when he wants very much to carry on a conversation with a speaker of a language he does not understand?

Itoh's data (Itoh, 1973) shows the very first interactions between her subject, Takahiro, and his aunt. The child wanted very much to interact verbally with his aunt but he did not know any English. His strategy was to 'say something' even though he did not understand what he said. The only possible way for him to interact verbally was to repeat her utterances after her. However, the intonation of the repetitions made the repetition 'relevant.' He echoes her statements with rising intonation and her questions with falling intonation:

Itoh, 1973, Japanese, 2:6, Takahiro
A: (Parking cars and airplanes)
Make it one at a time.
Takahiro: one at a time↑
A: Park everything.
T: /ɛvrišin/↑
A: Park them.
T: Park them↑

A: Does it fly?
T: Fly↓

As the data collection sessions continued, repetitions became less echolalic:

H: Do you want to race also?
Takahiro: Also racing car↓
H: That's all. That's all.
T: Okay, that's all↓

He then began nominating topics:

Takahiro: /gra:ɻ/↓
H: Garage. OK. I'll make a garage.
T: OK.

Takahiro: /flɔ/
NS: Flower. Green flower.
T: Green flower.
NS: Oh, what color is this?
T: Green
green flower.

As in Scollon's data, vertical constructions take place even without adult question prompting:

Takahiro: this
broken
NS: Broken.
T: broken
This /əz/ broken.
broken
NS: Upside down.
T: upside down
this broken
upside down
broken

T: garage
NS: It's a garage. Come in garage.
T: /kəmən/ garage.
NS: /naI/ your. (=not yours)
NS: This is yours.
T: /naI/ yours. (Note morphology correction)

While the output data of the learner, then, is shaped by the rules of conversation and by adult input, the adult, too, is constrained in what he may say by the same rules. He too must 'make a relevant reply.' There are few directly relevant replies to be made to the kinds of topics the child nominates. For example, if the child nominates 'this' pointing to a fish in a fish tank, the child and adult seem to talk about 'this' as a topic in a very few, very limited ways: What? Fish. What's this? A fish. Where's the fish? Whose fish is that? Is that yours? How many fish are there? What color is it? What's the fish doing? It's swimming. Can he swim? No, it's not a fish. There are not many 'etc's possible. And precisely these questions and responses to the topic can account for the order of acquisition in AUX development and in morphology that we have talked about elsewhere. It gives us a high frequency for equational

sentences, plurals, and the ING progressive.

The conversation puts the adult under two constraints as to what is a relevant response: 1) What information about 'this' is shared by adult and child; and 2) what are the attributes of 'this' that one can talk about? That is, there is nothing immediately obvious about 'this' that allows one to ask result/cause questions (unless the fish is floating on top of the water). There is nothing about 'this' to allow one to make a relevant remark about much of anything beyond what, where, whose, what color, how many, what doing, can X Verb, is X VerbING. And the first constraint prevents the adult from saying such things as 'you know the price of tuna just went up again' or 'what's an angel fish doing in a fresh-water tank?'

My conclusion, then, is that it's really not so much that the adult knows that the child second-language-learner cannot answer questions with complex syntactic forms and therefore consciously simplifies the input to the child. Rather, the frequency of what/where/whose/is X VerbING, etc. are controlled by the constraints of conversation rules. The rules of conversation, then, put constraints on questions which explain their frequency in the input. That the child then uses (or acquires) these same questions first in the data collected in adult-child discourse should not be surprising.

Turning to child-child discourse, we find a very different picture. The child learner does not receive the same kinds of input in these conversations. In fact, the speech acts required in child-child discourse are not the same, and the rules for conversation are quite different. The major speech act is no longer the giving of information in response to adult questions.

Since space is limited, I will discuss only one strategy that reveals interesting differences in adult-child and child-child discourse, that of repetition. While repetition is important for child-adult discourse, it is useful in limited ways. As shown earlier in the data of Takahiro, it allows the child to use input in order to participate in conversations even when the child does not understand what he says. Wagner-Gough (Gough & Hatch, 1975) has also shown how the child uses the input, incorporating parts of it into his own speech output. For example, Homer, a five-year-old Persian child learning English, incorporated the speech he heard into his own replies, as in:

NS: Come here.
Homer: No come here. (=I won't come)

NS: Don't do that.
Homer: Okay, don't do that. (=Okay, I won't)

NS: Where are you going?
Homer: Where are you going is house.

However, repetition and incorporation are much more extensive and much more appropriate in child-child conversational discourse.

Brina Peck's data, for example, show the child second-language learner taking his turns as a conversational partner by repeating or 'joining in the chorus' in conversations:

(child-child conversations during puzzle working activity)

NS: ...lemme have it. Lemme have it XXX puzzle. Oops!
Angel: (laugh) lemme have! (Scream)

NS: Nope. But it goes here.
Angel: Here. Goes.

NS: ...and that's one more like it.
Angel: (laughs to himself) 'smore like it.
NS: Really more like it.
Angel: I need you - in - the - oooh!
NS: Oooh, darn. Oh darn. Oh. (Sings) doo-doo- (continues)
Angel: (joins in) da-da.

NS: Oh good! Now there's one piece.
Angel: (laughs) There one piece.

NS: Lookit how much we've done so far so good.
Angel: Lookit all-- (sings low:) far so good-good-good.
(speaking) good, good, good, good.

Such examples have often been dismissed as simply language play. And, in an earlier resume of Huang's work, I pointed out the large number of 'language play' routines. Some of them, no doubt, serve no other function than play (not to disparage play) but they all occur within conversations (not just when the child is alone or talking to toys), and they serve several important conversation functions, not the least of which is that of keeping the conversation going. (Would that the adult second language learner could manage this function so easily!) But repetitions also serve a number of other important functions for the learner in terms of the speech acts required in child-child discourse, as shown in the following examples from Young's data.

Repetition is useful for bragging:

NS: I got a real gun.
Enrique: I got a real gun.
Adult: A real what?
Enrique: Real gun.
Go like dat. (gun noises)
....
NS: You gotta parachute?
Enrique: Hey, yeh. Gotta parachute.
Adult: What's a parachute?
NS: It have a man go down.
Enrique: Yeh XXX. Go down, down, down, down, down (pitch drops on 'downs')
Go down, down, down. I did. My friend got it.

Verbal dueling is also a speech act that can be built on repetition with minor changes:

Juan: (drawing picture) I have a /dIs/ dog.
NS: You don't have no dog.
Juan: You no have a nothing dog.
NS: Yes I do.
Juan: Nuh-uh. Lemme see.
Enrique: What color /dæ/?

Juan: I have a /dIs/ dog.
Enrique: Uh-uh. You /do:/ got <u>any</u> dog. I got /dæ/ dog.
NS: I got this dog.
Enrique: I got, got /dIs/ dog.
NS: I got Lassie.
Juan: I got bigger Lassie.
Enrique: I got Lassie! Blassie! I got Blassie!
NS: Hey, he say...he say...he...he got Lassie. His name's not Lassie.
Enrique: No, Blassie.
Juan: Blassie.
Adult: Did you ever see Lassie on TV?

It is worth noting that verbal dueling and argument almost always involves the use of comparatives:

NS: Hey, he do more better'n you.
Enrique: He do more better 'n you.
NS: I can--
Enrique: I can do more XXX. Lookit. No more better 'n me. Lookit. Look what is. Dumb. Lookit. (Sings: dumb, dumb, dumb.)

Arguments easily move to threats where, again, repetition is an important part of the speech act:

NS: (at swings) I can beat your brother up. I can beat him up.
Enrique: You can beat him, huh. I can beat him to my party n you can beat him n you can beat my brother. He beat you up. You XXX it. <u>I can beat you up</u>.

In this last example, it appears that if there is no gradual build up of traded insults, the child must sustain what he says over a longer period of time and gradually build up volume so that the final threat is said both at a higher pitch and with greater intensity. In other words, it appears that the speech act itself requires the learner to select length and the plan for increased volume and pitch over the actual syntax of the intermediate material in his threat. Therefore, the material that leads up to his final 'I can beat you up' does not make strict sense though it is related to the discourse via repetition of the original boast of the native speaker.

Repetition also appears in speech acts which shift blame:

NS: (to adult re Juan) He's makin' a stupid boat.
Juan: You makin' a...a kaka boat.
NS: He said a bad word.
Juan: He say. He say bad word.

and for making deals:

NS: I'll trade you one of those for one of those rocket things.
Children: No way.
Enrique: No way, man. No way.
Children: No way.
Enrique: Dat crazy. Boy, your craze. No. Him crazy. Huh, dat mine. Yeh, no way.

Repetitions also appear to function well for transfer of orders:

NS: ...I'm driving. Take over, E., take over! (shouts)
Enrique: Hey Sean, Kris, look. Take over!

. . . .

NS: This is your place, E. You have to.
Enrique: I have to...yeh. (Car sounds) Have to say 'take over'.
Juan: E's the driver.
Enrique: He going. Ah no! Let's take over. I am.

Repetitions also occur when the learner is struck by the sounds of particularly delightful words:

Enrique: Fall down!
NS: Okay-dokey.
Enrique: What you say?
NS: What?
Enrique: You say 'okay-dokey'? XXX 'okay-dokey'?
NS: Okay-dokey. Yeh.
Enrique: Okay-dokey. Hey, I did it. Okay-dokey. (continues saying okay-dokey with different stress patterns)

NS: (disgusted) Oooh, you made a boo-boo.
Enrique: I made a boo-boo. Look what I color.
NS: ...boo-boo. Lookit.
Enrique: So what? All up. Boo-boo yep. Boo-boo. Everybody do boo-boo. I did wrong. (laugh)

And, again, they serve to keep conversation going as in this exchange from Brina Peck's data:

Angel: This go like this. This go like that. [This goes like that
NS: (mocking) [goes like tha-it
Angel: [Go like (giggle) this
NS: [go like - thiay -
(mocking accent) It goes like [this
Angel: [this
NS: [it goes like
Angel: [goes like
NS: /ɪiš/
Angel: This [goes like
NS: [This goes like this,
Angel: This go
NS: go - like -
Angel: /rɛkli/ This go here.
NS: This goes here.
Angel: Be quiet.
NS: Sssh! (laughs)

From these few brief examples, it must appear that there are major differences in adult-child and child-child discourse for the second language learning child. As we gather more data on conversations of second language learners, I am sure many more important differences will begin to unfold.

In exchanges with adults, the child is continually bombarded with questions, primarily with questions of identification and elaboration. These are what questions, where questions, whose questions, what-doing questions. The questions ask

the child to clarify and enlarge on the topics that he or the adult nominates. The questions are constrained by the rules of adult conversation. The adult does not consciously simplify his language to the child but rather obeys the rules of conversation that require shared knowledge as a basis for questions. Further, the questions are constrained by what is shared on the basis of objects present in the immediate environment and by on-going actions. The questions asked the child require him to give new information in an order specified by the adult. This ordering may force the child to put constituents into an order which provides the precursor to more formal syntactic arrangements. Further, the frequency of the question forms used by the adult is reflected in the order of acquisition that we have found for question formation for the child. This is an important finding because it contrasts with claims that have been made for first language learners in accounting for the order of acquisition of WH questions. This does not mean that the cognitive explanation for first language learners is wrong but rather that we might want to consider conversational rules as being important in explaining the order in first language as well as in second.

The profiles that we have drawn on language of second language learners from test data between adult and child or from spontaneous speech between adult and child is, I believe, quite different from that which we might obtain in child-child discourse data. That, in itself, is of interest to us. But more interesting are the obvious differences in conversation functions, practice possibilities and the kinds of structures the child has the possibility of learning from each. From the adult he gets notions of how to order extremely controlled sets of question-answer routines based on objects present in the environment and on-going actions, he gets vocabulary that is visually represented as well, he gets sequenced presentation of structures. From the child he gets, among many other things, an immense amount of practice that allows him to repeat models of the native speaker. The vocabulary is not nearly as tightly controlled, made-up words are frequent. The child learner seems content to join in on repetition of vocabulary even though he cannot know what the vocabulary represents. Word association responses (particularly variations on pronunciation of a word to yield many other words) are wild and frequent. (For example, while working a puzzle, Angel and his native-speaker partner went from 'pieces' to 'pizzas' to 'pepsi cola' and the pepsi cola commercial song at a fantastic rate.) Repetition is an important part of one-upmanship in verbal dueling and in many of the other speech acts of child-child discourse. The speech acts in the two kinds of discourse are different: adults ask for elaboration of information on topics and for permission-seeking from the child. Child interactions range over a much wider range: threats, justification, joking, blaming, planning, etc.

It would seem that the child has, indeed, the best of both worlds in terms of language learning opportunity. He gets chances of controlled input with vocabulary made clear from the context, and he gets a chance to practice 15 repetitions in a row if he wishes when playing with other children.

Since a large portion of this paper has been on the importance of repetition as a strategy in child-child discourse, and since we have discussed its role in the child's learning from input elsewhere, I would like to stress that repetition alone cannot explain the language learning process:

> It might be assumed, of course, that there is an observable correlation between a child's speech and its environment, and that consequently the

> process of language acquisition by a child would be considered simply as the mechanical acceptance of external speech forms and meanings through imitation. In contrast, those who emphasized the internal contributions a child makes to its own speech looked for productions having nothing to do with imitation.... We believe that the proper position is a synthesis of these two opinions. In his form of speech a child learning to speak is neither a phonograph reproducing external sounds nor a sovereign creator of language. In terms of the contents of his speech, he is neither a pure associative machine nor a sovereign constructor of concepts. Rather his speech is based on the continuing interaction of external impressions with internal systems which usually function unconsciously; it is thus the result of a constant 'convergence.' The detailed investigations pertaining to the development of speech and thought should determine the relative participation of both forces and also show how they accommodate each other.
>
> Stern & Stern, 1907

There is little that can be said about the automatic and unconscious part of language learning at this point but there is much that can be said about the structure of conversation and of speech acts. Surely conversational analysis is important for it looks at the input that the child has to work with in forming the abstract network of his new language.

It is, I believe, time that we paid closer attention to the rules of conversation and to speech acts. They can explain the make up of the input and the frequency of forms that determine to a major extent the reported "order of acquisition" in second language learning. There are many areas to be investigated: what kinds of sequencing of input does the child receive, which structures are frequent in various speech acts and therefore receive constant use, and how are the rules and the input different for the adult learner as compared to the child second language learner.

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THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN AFRICA

John Povey

English, once the only dialect of South Britons, has become the language of the world. Indisputably it is the vehicle for most international communication. It is therefore the major language of Africa. Yet in Africa it is not only the language of international interaction, as it is in Asia, but plays an indispensable international role in the individual nation states. There are other European languages which are also commonly used in Africa; French, Portuguese and Spanish but what we are seeing now is a repetition of the historical process by which English eliminated rival tongues by its vigorous efficiency. The pressure of English challenges these other languages, as the intensifying interrelationships of economics and trade circumscribe their international utility. African countries need both an international and national means of communication neither of which are likely to be provided by an indigenous language. There is inevitably an additional handicap to development for those countries which do not have a single language to serve these dual purposes.

A major concern of developing territories must be, oddly enough, linguistic, a subject that is deemed marginal enough in most circumstances. Few countries can afford to avoid facing the implications that derive from the dominance of English. To understand the underlying competition amongst the European and the African languages on the continent, it is necessary to review briefly the colonial history out of which this linguistic situation was generated.

The European languages are deeply entrenched in the independent African States. They are the means of communication at all beyond the local levels. This may appear surprising granted the excessively sensitive reactions towards neo-colonialism aggressively voiced by African leaders at political meetings and conferences. What could be a more specific indication of neo-colonialism than the linguistic imperialism of the residual language of the oppressor? One calls to mind the old Roman adage "The language of the conqueror is the language of a slave". A review of the specific historical and linguistic circumstances in Africa will rapidly determine why this usage remains tolerable even in this decade of third world militancy.

Africa is bedevilled, rather than enriched with a vast number of languages. There are no accurate figures, partly because of the difficulty of assessing the distinction between a language and a dialect, partly because the very extent of the task has prevented researchers concluding the enumeration. Certainly there are several hundred languages; more than a hundred in Nigeria alone. These languages are not necessarily from similar roots, such as give a core of near intelligibility to Italian and French, but may be as disparate in structure as Japanese and Hebrew. The mere variety requires some alternative selection of a communication instrument if there is to be some cohesion of regional language choice. The reason that this is not commonly achieved by the selection of a local African language derives from the colonial history of the continent in the previous century. The nations of Africa have rarely any logic of either topog-

raphy or culture to justify their existence. One could argue a little whimsically that Nigeria was a concept in the mind of Queen Victoria. The nations of Africa were not decided by the normal historical process of national building such as had occupied the slow centuries of strife in Europe from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. This is not to say that such an historical sequence would have been impossible in Africa. The accretion by conquest, marriage and allegiance within increasingly clarified geographic zones, such as had engendered the boundaries of France might well have occurred in the old territories of the original Ghana or Songhai. But this process of violent and assertive nation-building was interrupted by European intervention and invasion. The already initiated process of regional extension of states which had been focussed across the central part of West Africa was transferred to the coastal zones, where European intervention first intruded.

It was a series of meetings in Europe, organized by competing and covetous European powers which decided the boundaries of Africa as seen on the map. A quick look will indicate the entirely changed orientation of boundaries which were the response to European intervention from the sea. The common form of African countries displays a narrow coastal boundary for it was the coveted coasts that were apportioned out. Usually there is a single main coastal town and a railway driven into the interior which serves as a conduit for the exploitative economic system of the colonizers. It is this history of European competition that makes it still so difficult today to transit Africa laterally even across relatively close local borders. It also explains some of the bizarre shapes of certain territories such as the narrow intrusion of Gambia into Senegal or the ballooning interior of Zaire from its coastal port, or the eccentricity of the Caprivi Strip.

The newly independent nations inherited these colonial borders no matter their illogicality in African terms. Their governments became protective--even acquisitive on the subject. Useless to argue that regions of Togo had cultural affiliations with Ghana or that Dahomey had Yoruba culture as did Nigeria. Neither side would be willing to yield sovereignty for the benefits of something as abstract as ethnic cohesion. Nor, as the Biafran war indicated, would a central government look lightly upon centrifugal forces that threatened a national identity no matter how weak that overall national allegiance might be.

There were many inherited problems in the nationalism provided the new national states of Africa at independence. Language was one of the urgent issues--as in a comparative way one might consider the problems deriving from the Indian attempts to find a nationally acceptable language amongst many regional tongues competing for dominance. Language has very often been one of the most cohesive forces towards nationality. Even bilingual countries such as Canada or South Africa recognize the problems that duality produces. Language is the most obvious manifestation of ethnicity, and multicultural nations inherently tend to the instability of divisiveness. For the new and often politically fragile African countries, the necessity for a national language is obvious, as this would be one evidence of unity. Unhappily, no African country has the luxury of a single language within its borders. Even the declared national Swahili program in Tanzania, often urged as a contradiction to the generalization, conceals some significant minority languages, deliberately ignored as the central government stresses its single authority by linguistic as well as political means.

By definition, any African language is a minority language within a country even though the individual languages themselves range from isolated ones with only a few hundred speakers probably doomed to extinction to those languages that extend across several countries and are spoken by millions such as Fulani-Hausa. Where there have been serious attempts to enforce an indigenous language into more common usage in the country it is invariably the language of the predominant administrative authority. The power elite, such as Amharic speakers in Ethiopia, can go far to insist on the learning of an official language (theirs), but there is invariably local resentment and clearly other concerns than linguistic rationality are the motives for these policies. In Africa we are faced with the paradox that the language of national unity is commonly a non-African one. One could even argue that English is the only language in which for example Nigerian nationality can be declared. The Nigerian Daily Express once commented "English is the one outward expression of all that unites the various people in this country". The moment that allegiance is spoken in an indigenous language, it exposes the divisive ethnicity of the speaker.

It is true that the colonial powers had woven their languages very deeply within the social system of their territories. It was made the language of higher education, of the national government, of the press and radio. It was therefore the language that permitted upward mobility within the system and created new elites composed of those who could manage its interpretation, starting with early translators for the colonial administrators and culminating in Oxford MA's. Obviously, so comprehensive a linguistic inheritance could not easily have been shaken off, particularly since independence did not always dramatically change the bilateral contacts that assumed the continuity of economic and political association, either openly, in such organizations as the Commonwealth, or in the less formal but very real retention of foreign cultural habits. This vigorous inheritance was not, in fact, the major reason for retaining the foreign language. After all an African language could have been modified to meet contemporary needs. There is no inherent hierarchy of efficiency amongst languages. Some have argued superficially that higher education in the modern sense must be conducted in a European language. The Israeli's and the Japanese do not find this to be essential. Both languages have been modified to accommodate the vocabulary of contemporary technology. But these emendations have not occurred within the African languages because the new technology existed at the national rather than the regional level. It employed people who had gained their skills in Europe, and would find it easier to use the language of their education in any exchange of technical ideas. The pressure was not on the African vernacular to provide an improved means of communication in the new areas as had been demanded of biblical Hebrew. The African languages could remain essentially unmodified because English was available to supply efficiently the new terminology.

The reason that the European languages, particularly English, remain so deeply entrenched in Africa is not because of the residual contacts that made these languages a necessary means of communication with the metropolitan ex-colonial powers and not even because they supplied a ready means of interacting with other African countries. They were justified from the first for their function as national languages. Their prime political significance is internal. It is this that separates their function from the international validity which English as a second language provides the Japanese. As the preamble to the Ugandan constitution asserted: the national language of Uganda is English.

This internal linguistic function allows us to assume two things about English in Africa. Firstly, its significance is not transitory. We are not seeing the dying residue of the colonial regime tolerated solely while more effective African languages are expanded throughout the nations. English has the supreme neutrality of being equally objectionable to speakers of all African languages within a country and it is, therefore, specifically objectionable to none. There is an important corollary of this fact. Because the language provides, initially, a national rather than international function, the language is forced to accommodate the variations of locality. We have the nationalization of English. It is modified and is moulded by regional usages often produced by the result of first language intrusion uninhibited by the presence of adequate native-speaking models. In fact we begin to see Englishes rather than English.

If it is true that all native speakers of English are mutually intelligible in spite of regionalisms of vocabulary and pronunciation, this is not true of second language English speakers whose English may vary to the point where it becomes dialect; impenetrable to other English speakers. This marginal intelligibility occurs well before the language achieves the degree of deviation that is specifically marked as a krio or pidgin although those too are common enough throughout West Africa.

Curiously enough these local variations or distortions of English render the language still more readily unexceptionable to the African nation. The elimination of external standards of accuracy, provide that the implication of tutelage can be defied. Just because the standards of current regional usage are so clearly seen to be no longer British, the English language remains tolerable at that crucial level below rational intellectual acceptance.

If English is the language of the world, as seems now too obvious to need assertion, then it is no longer the possession of the British and a speaker is not subject to English assumptions of correctness. As I heard an African student remark when mildly criticized by the native speaking teacher for a non-standard form--"It is our language now and we can do what we like with it." This is simultaneously true and yet dangerous. The implications of the clever pronouncement of Professor Hyslop are appalling--"English may die, like Latin, giving bith to offspring more vigorous than itself." Part of that prognostication has already come to pass. If English is not near its death, at least these very vigorous offspring are flourishing. If one admires their vigor, one must also express concern that as English is modified by localism to the point where it has purely regional utility, its second vital function as an international means of communication is lost.

Such change builds in the need for a hierarchy of English forms sufficiently distinct to become separable into two languages. Already there are two Englishes in Africa, a local English and a superior English more nearly matching native speaking accuracy and therefore adequate as a vehicle of communication for wider international circumstances. This English, closer to the standard forms of native speakers, is crucial, not only to address mother tongue users, they after all, are more likely with effort and goodwill to comprehend even highly modified English as they gain meaning from hesitant foreign speakers. The non-regional variety is essential to communicate with other second language

English speakers. When English exhibits extreme localized variants derived from first language intrusion, it ceases to have non-regional validity. It is well known that the written word is substantially more conservative than the spoken one. There are a few curious localisms in the press columns usually the result of the direct translation of first language expressions but the written English remains intelligible even while the speech gets harder and harder to comprehend. It is quite possible that even now, only the better educated in Africa could communicate comfortably by phone internationally.

In one way these separations from the standard forms are to be anticipated. Few would take the stand of the French Academy with its ludicrous Canute-like demands that the waves of linguistic change recede so that the purity of the tongue can be maintained. But there are serious political and social issues that result from such variations that make the fact certainly regretable, for they discriminate by the degree of education, and standard English becomes only the language of elites, with all the dangerous stratified social results that stem from that. One major dimension of the social class cleavage is induced by language policy. To the extent that English becomes nationalized, it paradoxically serves its national function just as well as a standard variety--perhaps even better to the extent that its very difference removes the last shread of evidence of its colonial association by establishing a national pronunciation pattern. But it creates a duality divided by intellectual class.

The British have commonly been casually accepting of deviants--having had hard lessons at the hands of Americans perhaps. It has already become a commonplace to talk of Englishes. Professor Clifford Prator in a provocative paper has called this indifference to a received form "The British Heresy". There are dangers inherent in linguistic freedom when it becomes license. If English is the language of survival in a modernizing society it becomes the key to social change. Government policies relating to English become tools that dictate the functioning of the system. This is particularly crucial when the question of mother tongue education is raised. This policy, common enough in South Africa in the Bantustan schools and therefore regularly condemned from abroad, is now being propounded as an exciting new idea in West Africa. It has several specious appeals. There is the obvious and perfectly acceptable idea that a child learns better in his mother tongue. This is almost certainly unquestionable. It is a view that has sustained the very ambitious if often politically motivated programs of bilingual education in the United States. There is also the understandable if somewhat more arguable issue that learning in the child's mother tongue provides a comfortable reaffirmation of his own cultural identity denied by the intruding foreign language and its inescapably attendant culture. These often grandiose expressions of morality are certainly sustained by the significant economies of mother tongue education. Teachers need less preparation--often only four grades above the level of their charges is typical. The long, arduous expensive problems of training teachers and students in good English is postponed until a later, more manageable stage. But here of course is the rub. The later stage is more manageable precisely because there are so many fewer students requiring to be taught.

The figures for education in independent Africa range from the faily low to the unimaginably abysmal. The drop-out rates, because of lack of funds or

family work obligations, are very high, even measured against that low starting proportion. Any graph of African education shows a staggering decline at each educational level. A declining curve is a normal educational pattern in any society, even in the United States with its grossly inflated university attendance figures. Where language is not an issue there is no sharp dividing line of competence and therefore a person's social and economic function. Those who do two years of college will tend to have significant advantages over those who have only a high school education and so on, but the differences will not be clear cut. There is no such vague and marginal effects in the conditions of English language learning. A nation decides at what point it chooses, or can afford, to begin English for its students. That becomes the point at which a primary decision concerning a student's future is made and one far more ruthless than that legitimately abhorred British division of 11 plus exams that divides England into the haves and the have nots. Even for the U.K. eleven year old failures, there remain some alternative opportunities but in Africa without English there can be no effective upward mobility, no government jobs, no professional training. The point at which the English language is provided becomes the point at which a percentage of the population are most precisely cut off from subsequent social upgrading.

English is of course not the only European language that performs a nationally cohesive function in Africa. In some regions, French and Portuguese also play this significant role. However, in the second function provided by English, the international one, these other languages offer only bilateral prospects of communication. In essence they have the liability that they are languages of communication that function only with the ex-colonial powers. French and Portuguese have lost much of their earlier pretensions to being international languages. It is therefore essential that these non-anglophone countries find a method of sustaining their urgent need for English as the language in which they must conduct a major part of their international interaction. The difficulty for them is that if the world in general has acquiesced to the idea that English must be their second language (a fact that is as true in France as in Taiwan) the African territories must modify this recognition to meet their already dual, triple, or quadruple language situation.

English must play a significant role in the French-speaking African territories but this requirement is complicated by considerable internal and external pressures. It is in these countries that the distinction between the national and international efficacy of the European language becomes most palpable as it determines the priorities of linguistic policy. Far more vigorously than the British, the French imposed their language on the areas under their control. The very policy of assimilation meant, in essence, that their declared aim and ideal was the creation of the black Frenchman. The French argued, at least in theory, that they did not practice a color bar, so much as a culture bar.

The assimilation policy, albeit not always fully carried out in practice, offered the African upward mobility through the abdication of his indigenous culture and language. In practice a similar policy existed in the British colonies but without the same kind of philosophical intensity that motivated the French. Because of the vigor with which they practiced their acculturation policies, the French administration achieved a considerable measure of success

at least with the elite; exemplified by so distinguished a man as President Senghor of Senegal. Precisely this success and the resultant anomie left a resentment deriving from the cultural deprivation that provoked both the intellectual movement under the concept of 'negritude'--an affirmation of blackness--and the underlying political activism that sustained the post-war independence movements in the French-speaking African colonies. There is, in a way not found in ex-British colonies, an extraordinary ambivalence towards France in the francophone areas with resentment and the deepest affection delicately balanced.

In the richer colonies, the economic ties with France are all but exclusive. In the Ivory Coast in spite of the tropic heat, there is a sense of a hot Paris. Here the British council and USIS have virtually abdicated from the underlying task of trying to proffer classes in English in spite of some evidence of a need for the language. In Senegal the ties are fractionally less unilateral and the intrusion of the English language becomes more significant. You are unlikely to encounter it often in the streets but it is still a required subject for those students who actually reach the secondary school level. This is some recognition of its essential significance and probably more than any anglophone West African country is likely to attempt in reciprocation for the French language. There are programs of English in Mali. In Cameroun it battles against the dominance of French but a serious determination to acquire English depends upon a far broader international outlook than at present pursued.

The relationship between France and the ex-colonies remains close in many ways. French investment has postponed that moment of recognizing that international involvement necessitates English. It is for this reason that the situation is entirely different in the ex-Belgian colonies; Rwanda, Burundi, and most significantly, Zaire, which I have recently visited. These countries have inherited the worst of both worlds. Their school system provides them with the increasing international disutility of the French without the comforting sustenance of the French economic investment. It is Zaire that most obviously exemplifies the dilemma and the attendant need for English. Here is a country anxously and actively seeking an international role that is, in a sense, only available through the English language. Here the need for English is desperate. It may be no more desperate than in the case of Rwanda, where any possibility of economic development requires English, but there is a harsh law which provides that the world ignores the poorest and most needy just because their poverty and need is so acute. If America can afford to reject such impoverished territories, policy has determined that Zaire may well play a central role in contemporary African politics. It will do this only through English.

Some Americans learning of the declared need for English in Zaire have seemed to take a specious comfort from the view that this means a political realignment with the U.S. The military training of Zaire's officers in Texas preceded by a period of English language learning is indicative. Without discussion of whether this indeed might be occurring in any broad sense, it is obvious that the need for English is based on substantially different international grounds. English is the language in which one has discussion with the Japanese or the Chinese of both camps. It is the language in which you negotiate with the Russians or buy arms from Czechoslovakia. English is the language in which the trade of the world is conducted. There is unfortunately no likelihood

that Zaire will in fact adopt English as its national language. Here we run into the shackles of colonial history. It is overly optimistic to imagine that elites will carry out reforms, the consequence of which is the elimination of the qualities that distinguish and justify their superiority.

The argument for the desirability of exchanging French or English as a national language can be infinitely rational but also unconvincing. There is never going to be an easier time to retreat from the francophone educational policy. With the present substantial, if slow, educational growth, increasingly large percentages of Africans will be given the option to learn a European language. This could be English with all its infinitely greater international utility, rather than the French presently provided. The substitution would be acceptable to the young. It is interesting in this case that part of the ardour for the change represents a desire to seek some liberation from the continuance of the ex-colonial linguistic association--a view uncommon in Anglophone Africa. For Zaire English is not 'colonial' in its antecedents. Yet English is not likely to be approved by the elite who have already acquired not only their own French but that continuing cultural attachment that comes from the education with which they were once provided.

It is therefore likely that English in Zaire is inevitably going to have to be imposed upon an already complex linguistic situation. There is naturally a first language. There are five major ones in Zaire but infinitely more numerous tongues limited to smaller regions. The options provided a child who comes to school, exemplify in an extreme form the appalling problems of the language situation in Africa. He begins his education in his mother tongue if he is fortunate, both in getting to school at all and in having a language widespread enough in its affiliation to be used at school. There is strong pressure to learn Lingala as an African National language. This is the language of the western region and, being the language of both president and capital, is vigorously pushed from the power center. In the East he may also be required to learn a version of Swahili as a street language of communication. If the student survives the system and gains an education beyond the elementary level, he will be taught French and finally taught in French. These secondary schools are most likely to be missionary schools in foundation, if not always in present administration. They will actually be conducted in French, with French as the language of the classroom instruction. Because these schools have religious origins and a consequent conservative approach to education, students will often be required to learn Latin, improbable as that may sound in view of African priorities. It is upon this substructure of three and four languages that English, the most essential functional language of all must be superimposed.

The demands of learning four languages might be imagined to preclude any non-linguistic learning. If English is taught, like Latin, for three or four hours a week and not reinforced either through school usage or an outside context of English language usage, the students efficiency will be minimal. It would probably be advantageous to forego such a minimal attempt to learn the language in these limited conditions. A relatively brief period of post-school intensive training could very rapidly match the amount of English learned in these school situations which lack the reinforcement of regular classes and provide so little opportunity to employ it. Unless, as could readily be urged,

English deserves a more functional place in the system than this method provides, such belated but intensive programs are probably the cheapest and most sufficient means of generating a superficial but functional amount of English for specific economic purposes. Again, however, the dangerous results of linguistic class stratification will occur.

A similar situation may well develop in the ex-Portuguese territories. The presence of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique and their unilateral economic control prevented any substantial discussion of language policy there. Presumably both countries at independence will initially accept Portuguese as their national languages. There is really little choice. It will be important to see if that can be sustained when the Portuguese investment and physical presence diminishes rapidly and considerably. What is the point of learning Portuguese if there are no Portuguese with whom to speak it? The Brazilians scarcely make substantial enough justification for its maintenance. With the exception of Zaire to the north of Angola, all other adjacent borders are with Anglophone territories. Will that pressure and presence make for the necessary introduction of English as a third language and give it acceptance that will later permit its adoption as a second language? It would seem inevitable but logic is not always dominant in issues of educational and linguistic policy when deeply cherished entrenched positions are being challenged.

Certainly independence must bring a vigorous increase in English language learning in these countries as it did earlier to the north. For this task, as in other regions, the schools are largely unprepared. There is no denying the essential need for English across the continent of Africa. The problem, as in so many other fields is the restrictive lack of investment capital that precludes the undertaking of so many socially advantageous programs. So far the American AID policy makers have not been able to see how inextricably all fields of economic change are tied to the use of English. There is the recognition that English is inevitably the language of African international association both within and beyond the continent. All international trade except that specifically with France and perhaps Belgium is going to be conducted in English and, in point of fact, English is the second language most taught in schools in those two countries as well. Attendant on this advanced usage in many countries there is a vigorous new English which serves for national communication and urban interaction; colorful, lively, exotically aberrant, always distinctive. Ideally, it should be permitted a free growth restrained only by the demonstrable advantage of its retaining other than local efficacy.

One should not make any long term predictions about Africa. The continent has a fine record of making liars out of seers and pundits. It is clear that the determination of the role of English and the educational policies which can confirm and develop that role, is vital for African planners. Their decisions move far beyond the simple educational field. When a British child decides casually whether to take French or German, it is without any great expectation that he will have to conduct much of his life in either of those languages. In Africa in contrast, it is the key decision in political and social affairs in each country from which so much else is engendered. English as a world language is already a reality of our time. That fact will produce some circumstances that will surprise and dismay many native English speakers. Those dedicated to the service of the language should find the opportunities exciting challenge rather than disastrous. Perhaps English teachers are being given an unexpected opportunity to rectify the punishment imposed on the builders of the Tower of Babel. It is a daunting yet impressive prospect.

A STUDY OF THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH OF SPANISH-SPEAKING PUPILS IN A SPANISH IMMERSION SCHOOL PROGRAM

Sandra Plann and Arnulfo G. Ramírez

Background

In 1971 at a Culver City elementary school a Spanish Immersion Program (SIP) was initiated in which a group of English-speaking kindergartners received their classroom instruction exclusively in Spanish. This program is now in its fifth year; the pilot group is in the fourth grade, and a new group has begun the program each year. In the academic year 1975-76, the fourth grade consisted of 12 native English-speakers, 10 from the original pilot group and 2 of whom joined the program later in grades one, two, three or four, and six native Spanish-speakers, four of whom entered SIP in first grade and two of whom entered in second grade. The third grade was comprised of 19 English-speaking children, of whom 15 entered the program in kindergarten, and three Spanish-speakers, one of whom joined SIP in the first grade and two of whom entered in second grade. The second grade group was made up of 25 English-speakers, of whom 21 entered the program in kindergarten, and two Spanish-speaking children, both of whom joined the group in first grade. Children at these three levels received English reading in English, and the rest of the curriculum was taught entirely in Spanish. In the first grade there were 25 speakers of English, of whom 20 entered the program in kindergarten, and one child, who also began in kindergarten, whose mother is a native-speaker of Spanish. The first graders received all of their instruction in Spanish.

While the presence of the Spanish-speaking children was generally acknowledged as of benefit to the English-speakers because in addition to their teacher they now had peers to serve as linguistic models, the effects of this situation on the Spanish-speakers had as yet been unassessed. The second grade teacher felt this was a positive situation socially for the Spanish-speaking children, explaining, "... these children are not put down, ... they feel secure. They do not sit back or take a back seat in the classroom because they are forced to speak English. Because of their fluency in Spanish, they are of help to all the other children. And we must remember that we're reinforcing their native tongue." However, the linguistic development of the Spanish-speaking children had not as yet been measured. One of the issues still under debate is the specification of objectives for the Spanish-speaking students' participation in the program, and questions as yet unanswered include: What happens to the Spanish of native speakers in the program? Are their Spanish pronunciation and grammar adversely affected by imperfect, but prestigious, anglo models? What progress do Spanish-speakers in the program make in their English? (Cohen, 1975)

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to present the results of a Spanish/English bilingual test given to the Spanish-speaking children in the SIP program. As they are very few in number (one first grader, two second graders, three third graders and six fourth graders), no generalizations can be drawn regarding the effects of Spanish-immersion classes on children whose home language is Spanish.

Instead, the aim is merely to present a linguistic description on the Spanish and English of these children and to provide some preliminary answers to the questions about their progress. This will, in turn, help in the establishment of more specific goals for the native Spanish-speakers in SIP.

The Subjects

The subjects were 10 Spanish-speakers from the SIP program. Subject 1 is a first grade girl who entered the program in kindergarten and whose mother speaks Spanish. All of the others are from homes where both parents speak Spanish. Subjects 2 and 3 are second grade boys who began SIP in the first grade. Subject 4 is a third grade boy who joined the program in the first grade. Subjects 5 through 10 are fourth graders; numbers 6, 7 and 9 are girls; 5, 8 and 10 are boys. Subjects number 6 and 8 entered SIP in the second grade, while 5, 7, 9 and 10 began in the first grade. About one month after administering the language test, one of the examiners interviewed the children on their language use and background (Table #1). Five of the subjects have only attended school in the U.S. in the SIP program; only two of these children reported speaking English when they entered school (one of whom is number 1, who is English-dominant). None of the others reported speaking any English upon beginning school in the U.S.

Materials and Method

The test used is a sub-test of the Spanish-English Balance Test developed in 1976 by Arnulfo Ramirez and Robert Politzer at the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching. It consists of an English and a Spanish parallel test versions and tests the subject's oral production in ten grammatical categories. Each category has two items, and a corresponding picture for each item. The ten categories are (I) from singular to plural, (II) from plural to singular, (III) from present to past tense, (IV) from affirmative past tense to negative present tense, (V) prepositions of place and position, (VI) interrogatives (from indirect to direct), (VII) imperatives (from indirect to direct), (VIII) interrogatives (from direct to indirect), (IX) imperatives (from direct to indirect), and (X) comparatives.

The test is based on analogy; for each category, there is a sample stimulus and response sentence; the subject is first shown a picture and told the sample stimulus sentence; he is then told the appropriate response and is asked to repeat it. For example, in the first category, singular to plural, the examiner shows a picture of a boy singing and says, "The pupil is singing." He then points to a picture of two boys singing and says, "The pupils are singing." The subject is asked to repeat this model response sentence, and when he has grasped the idea, he is then tested on two analogous items in the singular-to-plural category. The experimenter immediately transcribes each response.

On February 24, 1976, two experimenters tested ten of the SIP Spanish-speakers. Two Spanish-speaking third graders were not tested as they were absent that day. The children were taken in pairs from their classroom to a quiet area where the test was administered. They were familiar with one of the examiners and were looking forward to the test as many of their English-speaking classmates had been tested previously, and the Spanish-speakers had been asking when they, too, would have an exam.

One researcher, a native speaker of Spanish, administered the Spanish version, and the other administered the English part; half of the children were tested first in English, and the other half first in Spanish. Immediately after being tested in one language, they were tested in the other.

There are problems involved in language testing with any type of test instrument, and the Spanish-English Balance Test is no exception. In any test situation, and particularly with children, holding the subject's attention can be a problem; therefore, it is sometimes difficult to know whether errors are due to a lack of knowledge of the grammar or to a lack of attention to the task. For example, in testing direct to indirect questions, the stimulus sentence is, "The mother asks the girl, 'Can you help me with the dishes?' -- What does the mother want to know?" The expected student response is, "The mother wants to know if the girl can help her with the dishes." Here, context makes an indirect question the necessary response; however, one subject responded, "Could you help me with the dishes?" While this sentence is grammatical, it is contextually inappropriate and consequently was considered incorrect. However, as the subject did not attempt to form an indirect question, it is impossible to know whether he does not know this form, or whether he does not know when context makes its use obligatory, or whether he simply was not paying full attention to the test. This last explanation is the most probable one in the case of a response given by the youngest child, subject number 1. She was tested first in English and then in Spanish and was clearly tired at the end of the second part. In the section on comparisons, the stimulus sentence was, "Esta niña se siente mal" [This girl feels bad], and the expected response was, "Esta niña se siente peor" [This girl feels worse]. However, her response was a resolute, but totally non-sensical, "Hace más más" [It makes more more]. Perhaps for similar reasons, some subjects occasionally simply repeated the stimulus sentence and made no attempt at performing any transformations.

Further problems involve the very concept of analogy. While the children were able to grasp the idea, they were not applying it correctly in all instances. For example, in trying to illicit the irregular comparative "less," the children were shown a picture of a boy with a small amount of money and were told the stimulus sentence, "This boy has little money." The expected response to the next picture, of a boy with less money, was "This boy has less money." However, three of them responded with, "This boy has big money." Further problems arose when the children seemed to completely forget the concept of analogy and simply commented on the picture. For example, the pictures to test present to past tense and to elicit the irregular form "drew" were of a boy drawing a picture, to correspond with the stimulus sentence, "Today the boy draws a picture," and of a boy seated at a table with a picture tacked on the wall behind him to illicit the response, "Yesterday the boy drew a picture." While the second picture did illicit some attempts at the irregular form "drew," it also provoked such comments as "Yesterday he put it up," "Yesterday the boy didn't draw a picture," and "Yesterday he finished the picture." All of these sentences are both grammatically and contextually correct, but none gives a clue as to whether the child has mastered the irregular past form "drew."

Nonetheless, there are problems with any test instrument, and this test has been extensively pre-tested and revised and the items were found to have a high reliability.

Analysis of Test Results

The results of the test were analyzed in two ways: one analysis is of the subjects' responses according to the ten grammatical categories of the test; the other is an error analysis of all responses, including those which do not contain the target structure.

In scoring according to grammatical categories, it was decided to classify each response into one of five categories (Tables #2 and #3). In order to achieve uniformity, the following principles were used to categorize the responses:

In the first category (+) the response was both grammatically and contextually correct and included the structure being tested. This category included responses with dialectal variations, such as "El libro está 'abajo' del escritorio" instead of "debajo del escritorio," or "lavastes" instead of "lavaste." Slight variations on the expected response such as "The boy and the girl are eating," instead of "These children are eating," were also included here, along with responses with appropriate deletions like, "If she can help her with the dishes," instead of "The mother wants to know if she can help her with the dishes."

The target structure is correct in responses in the second category (+), but there is an error elsewhere in the sentence. For example, in plural to singular, the anticipated response is "This girl is doing her homework." The response "This girl is doing *his homework was included in this category, as the subject successfully transformed the plural "These girls are doing their homework" to a singular form. Also in this category were responses like, in present to past, "Yesterday the mom gave *to the boy some candy;" while the subject successfully transformed the sentence from present to past tense, he made an error in the indirect object. However, only the tense transformation was being tested here. The errors in these sentences and others like them that were not part of the target structure are investigated fully in the section on error analysis.

The sentences in the third category (-) contained an error in the target structure such as, in singular to plural, "*This *womans are writing," or were grammatical but contextually inappropriate. For example, in testing prepositions of location, "The book is *in back of the lamp" was scored as inappropriate because in the picture the book is beside the lamp. Repetitions of the stimulus sentence or no response were also included in this third category.

The sentences in the fourth category (0) were grammatically and contextually correct but did not include the structure being tested. For example, in testing direct imperatives, a response like "Por favor, te puedes quitar el saco," instead of "Quítate el saco," was included in this category as it does not contain a direct command.

The sentences in the fifth category (=) were ungrammatical and/or contextually inappropriate and did not include the structure under consideration. For instance, in testing indirect to direct questions, a response like, "She *want to *knows if the girl could help her," while ungrammatical, is not an attempt to produce the target structure and is therefore included in this category. In testing direct to indirect questions, the stimulus was "What does the mother

want to know?" and the expected reply was "The mother wants to know if the boy brushed his teeth." The response, "Did he brush his teeth?" was not acceptable because context makes an indirect question the obligatory response. Therefore a direct question, although grammatical alone, is incorrect in this context and was therefore scored in this category. While sentences in this category were not considered in the analysis of structure errors, they were carefully reviewed in the error analysis.

The grammatical structures, then, were analyzed in the light of these five categories. The following discussion will consider only those responses which were in the first, second or fourth categories, i.e., those which contained the target structure.

Comparing the structures in the ten categories, Figure #1 shows the mean of correct responses for each category was higher in Spanish than in English in all but one category. In the first category, from singular to plural, the average correct English response was 10%, while in Spanish the mean was 90%. In Category II, from plural to singular, the average of correct English responses was 85%, and 100% in Spanish. In Category III, present to past, the English average was 37%, and the Spanish was 89%. Category IV tested past affirmative to present negative, and the English mean was 69%, the Spanish, 95%. Category V examined prepositions of location, and while only 32% of the English responses were correct, 80% of those in Spanish were correct. In Category VI, from indirect to direct interrogatives, 51% of the English responses were correct, as compared to 89% of those in Spanish. Category VII tested the indirect to direct imperative form, and here the results were very similar: 93% correct in English, 94% in Spanish. In Category VIII, which tested direct to indirect interrogatives, 67% of the English and 95% of the Spanish responses were correct. In Category IX, direct to indirect imperatives, again the results were not too dissimilar: 80% correct in English and 90% in Spanish. Finally, Category X tested comparatives; this is the only category where English correct answers surpassed the Spanish, and the difference was slight: 22% of the English responses and 19% of the Spanish were correct. Figure #2 compares the mean correct responses for each of the structures and shows that only in item #20, a comparative, did the children score better in English than in Spanish (43% to 38%), and in item #14 they scored the same in both languages, 95%.

Lastly, Figure #3 compares the percent of structures correct by each subject in English and Spanish. Only one subject, number 1 is shown to be stronger in English according to this test. Subject #9 is the closest to balanced, with a mean of 75% correct responses in English and 89% in Spanish and a difference of only 14%. Subject #2 is the least balanced, with a mean of 29% correct English responses and 88% in Spanish, and a difference of 59%. However, the picture is very different in Figure #4, which compares the percent of grammatical and appropriate responses, whether or not they contained the target structure, for each child. Here subject number 5 is the most nearly balanced, with 65% correct English responses and 90% correct Spanish, with a difference of 25%. Subject #6 is the least balanced in this analysis, with 95% correct responses in Spanish and 40% in English, with a difference of 55%. Subject 1 is again the only child who is dominant in English.

Error Analysis

An error analysis was also made of all the responses, in an attempt to learn what types of mistakes these children make. An error was defined as a mistake from a native speaker's point of view, either in the grammar of the sentence or due to obligatory context.

In this analysis, the errors were categorized as due either to transfer or overgeneralization.

Errors which involve partial reliance on one language while speaking another, or interference, are transfer errors. For example, the error in the quantifier in "Today he doesn't have *no money," reflects the Spanish negation system in which double negatives are grammatical. Another example is the error in the word order in "She gave *to the boy some candy," which reflects Spanish syntax (Dió al niño unos dulces.).

Errors which involve what Selinker calls overgeneralization consist of a reorganization of linguistic materials within the target language. For example, the omission of the third person "-s" in "The mother *give the boy some candy" is considered an overgeneralization because, as Duskova (1969) remarks, "all grammatical persons take the same zero verbal ending except for the third person singular in the present tense. Omissions of the "-s" in the third person singular in the present tense may be accounted for by the heavy pressure of all the other endingless forms. The endingless form is generalized for all persons."

Taylor (1975) in a study of learners' errors investigated the degree to which elementary and intermediate students of ESL relied on the strategies of overgeneralization and transfer. He found errors which could be attributed to transfer were significantly higher among elementary speakers of English, while errors attributed to overgeneralization were more common among intermediate speakers.

In view of Taylor's findings, the types of errors made by the Spanish-speakers in the SIP program are very important. A high percentage of transfer errors in their Spanish might indicate that peer pressure from the anglo majority in the SIP classes was causing the Spanish-dominant children to anglicize their Spanish, or that simply the influence of the socially more prestigious language was affecting their Spanish. Overgeneralization errors in Spanish may reflect an as yet imperfect acquisition of the language or they may reflect a regression in their control of Spanish as English becomes their more dominant language. On the other hand, a high percentage of transfer errors in their English would presumably indicate that their acquisition of English is still at an elementary stage and that reliance on their knowledge of Spanish when speaking their second language is considerable. However, a predominance of overgeneralization errors would be a likely indication of progress in the acquisition of English, as overgeneralization errors demonstrate that the learner has mastered the mechanics of a particular rule of the target language but that he does not as yet know how to appropriately apply it, i.e., he does not know the distribution of the rule or the exceptional cases where the rule does not apply (Taylor, p. 74).

Most of the errors in this study were accounted for by transfer or overgeneralization, but there were a few ambiguous cases which could be explained by

either strategy. However, these ambiguous errors were very few: 5 in Spanish, out of a total of 41, and 8 in English, out of a total of 103. The five ambiguous Spanish errors all involved the omission of reflexive pronouns. For example, in the sentence "Quiere que se quite el saco" [She wants him to take off his coat, or, literally, She wants him to take his coat off of himself], the omission of the reflexive pronoun "se" changes the meaning and makes the sentence incorrect in this context. It's omission might reflect overgeneralization of Spanish grammar, as most verbs do not require a reflexive pronoun and this verb, in other circumstances, does not, or it might reflect transfer from English, where the reflexive pronoun would not be used in the equivalent sentence. In this same sentence in English, an ambiguous error involved the embedded sentence. The subject said, "She wants *the boy put his coat on;" this could reflect the Spanish structure which uses a conjugated form of the verb and not the infinitive ("Quiere que el niño se ponga el saco."). Or, it might reflect the English class of verb that does not require the use of "to" before the embedded sentence, such as "She hopes the boy puts his coat on." To avoid arbitrary decisions, based only on guessing, these ambiguous cases were excluded when calculating the percentage of overgeneralization and transfer errors.

As Figure #5 indicates, in both Spanish and English the children made considerably more overgeneralization errors than transfer errors. As would be expected, since Spanish is the dominant language for all but one subject, there were more transfer errors in English than in Spanish. Of the 95 errors in English classified as due clearly to either transfer or overgeneralization, only 14 of them, or just under 15%, were due to transfer. In Spanish, only 2 of the 36 errors considered, or slightly less than 6%, were due to transfer. This larger percentage of transfer errors, as well as the considerably larger number of errors in English, was to be expected since Spanish is the dominant language for all but one subject. However, the fact that the large majority of errors in both languages were due to overgeneralization seems to indicate that the children are aware of the rules but do not as yet know completely when and how to apply them. Overgeneralization errors are evidence of the acquisition process.

Transfer, overgeneralization and ambiguous errors were classified into the following categories: syntactic, contextually inappropriate, lexical, phonological and morphological. Syntactic errors involved incorrect application of the principles for combining words to form structurally correct, grammatical sentences. They often involved word order; for example, in the indirect command, "Quiere que lean [she wants them to read]," the subject said, "*Que quiere lean." The error in "*The man doesn't have no money," was also considered syntactic since it is a syntactic rule that requires the use of the quantifier "any" in negative sentences. Contextually inappropriate errors involved grammatically correct utterances which were wrong in the grammatical context. For example, in response to the question, "What does the mother want to know?" the expected reply is the indirect question, "She wants to know if the girl can help her with the dishes." Here, several subjects responded "Could you help me with the dishes?", which, while grammatical, is contextually inappropriate. Lexical errors involved the choice of a wrong vocabulary item, because of which the response did not correspond with the picture. For instance, one picture showed a woman giving candy to a boy; the subject's response, "They give candy to the boy," was classified as a lexical error. While such responses might be considered contextually inappropriate, the difference in the two categories is that errors classified as contextually inappropriate were incorrect due to grammatically obligatory context,

while those classified as lexical were wrong due to the context established by the picture. Morphological errors involved the minimal units of grammatical structure such as plural endings on nouns, verbs and determiners, tense and person markers on verbs and auxiliaries, and comparative markers. For example, the omission of "do" in "*Why you get so dirty?" was classified as a morphological error. Some lexical errors such as those involving prepositions could have been counted in this category. For instance, the expected response to a picture of a book next to a lamp was "The book is beside the lamp." Several subjects responded, "The book is on the side of the lamp," or "...in the side of the lamp." However, other errors involving prepositions were responses like, "... outside of the lamp," or "... in back of the lamp," which seem more clearly lexical. All of these errors were classified as lexical, for the sake of uniformity and to avoid trying to second guess the subjects. Pronunciation errors involved gross pronunciation mistakes; a slight Spanish accent in English was not taken into account.

Table 5 shows the distribution of errors in English and Spanish. The majority of the ambiguous errors were morphological; in Spanish they accounted for all five of the errors, and in English they accounted for six, or 75%, of the eight ambiguous errors; of the other two, one was syntactic and one lexical.

Interestingly, the distribution of the overgeneralization errors is quite similar in both languages. Morphological errors accounted for the largest part of the errors; twenty-two out of a total of 34, or 64%, in Spanish, and fifty one out of 81, or 63%, in English. The next largest category in both languages is lexical, with five, or 15%, in Spanish and 26, or 32%, in English. One of the smallest categories in both languages is syntactic, comprising only 3% of the errors in Spanish and 1% in English; there was only one syntactic overgeneralization error in each language. Two of the Spanish errors, or 6%, were phonological; there were no phonological errors in English. Three, or 4%, of the English errors and four, or 12%, of the Spanish errors were considered contextually inappropriate. The large number of morphological overgeneralization errors in both languages seems to indicate that the children are aware of morphological rules and are in the process of sorting them out; this is also demonstrated by the type of morphological errors; out of all of the fifty-nine morphological errors in English, 86% were due to overgeneralization, 4% to transfer, and 6% were ambiguous.

In transfer errors, the distribution is different between the two languages. In Spanish there were only two transfer errors; both were morphological. In English, however, of the fourteen transfer errors, nine, or 64%, involved syntax; three, or 22%, were lexical, and only two, or 14%, were morphological. Also, considering the eleven syntactic errors in English, one was ambiguous, one due to overgeneralization, and nine, or 82%, were due to transfer. While this high percentage of syntactic transfer errors in English is somewhat discouraging, as syntax is the heart of the language and central to the grammar, it must be remembered that while syntactic errors constitute a large percentage of the English transfer errors, they account for only eleven of the total 103 errors in English, or just under 11%. (See Figure#6.) Also, perhaps because syntax is the central part of the language, it may be the area most susceptible to transfer from the dominant language and the most difficult to acquire.

Figure 6 shows the distribution of all errors (ambiguous, overgeneralization and transfer) in English and Spanish by linguistic category. The largest category

of errors by far in both languages was morphological; this group accounted for 66% of the Spanish and 57% of the English errors. This may be because, as Hatch (1974) pointed out, items of low semantic value, although their in-put may be very high, are acquired late. For whatever reason, this more superficial aspect of the grammar accounts for the majority of the errors in both languages, while syntactic errors, which represent a more central part of the language, amount to only 2% of the Spanish and 11% of the English errors.

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

Of the ten subjects tested, only subject #1, who is from a home where only the mother speaks Spanish, is dominant in English; the others are from homes where both parents are Spanish-speakers. Of these nine, four have only attended SIP classes in the U.S., and only one of these nine spoke any English when he began his American schooling.

In the analysis of the Spanish-English Balance Test, the mean of correct responses for each category was higher in Spanish than in English except for the comparatives, where the children scored slightly higher in English. In no analysis, either by total structures correct or total utterances correct, was any subject but #1 dominant in English.

In the error analysis, the children were found to be making many more overgeneralization than transfer errors (85% to 15% in English, and 94% to 6% in Spanish). This predominance of overgeneralization errors and the small percentage of transfer errors seem to indicate that while the children's acquisition is not as yet complete, they are aware of the rules for each language and are in the process of learning when to apply them; their reliance on the other language is minimal.

It is important that the children from Spanish-speaking homes continue to be tested regularly and that any new Spanish-speakers who join SIP be tested upon entering the program and regularly thereafter. Since the data in this paper represents information from the first test, it is difficult to know its full meaning; it is impossible to say whether the children are continuing to acquire English, or whether their knowledge of the language is decreasing, due to their intensive exposure to Spanish, or whether they have fossilized in their present stage. It is also impossible to know whether their imperfect knowledge of Spanish only represents a stage in the acquisition process, or whether their grasp of the language is decreasing and their English increasing, due to peer and societal pressure. However, with continued testing we will be able to see the children's linguistic progress and to better analyze the effects of SIP on it. Further testing is important for these children, who will eventually have to compete in an English-dominated school system and society; moreover, although their situation is unique at present, with growing interest in bilingual and immersion education, their linguistic development within an immersion program could eventually be of interest for other programs.

TABLE 1

Language Use and Background

	Object	Sex	Born	Age	Grade	Began SIP	Began U.S. schooling	Language(s) when began U.S. school	Language Use at School: W/SIP classmates out of class: Preference	W/SIP classmates out of class: Most spoken	W/SIP classmates in class: Preference	W/SIP classmates in class: Most spoken	Language Use at Home: W/mother	W/father	W/siblings	Most spoken by subject	Preference of subject	% correct English sentences	% correct Spanish sentences
SIP	1	F	U.S.	6	1st	K	K	S/E	S	E	S	S	S/E+	E	E	S	S	60%	15%
	2	M	U.S.	8	2nd	1st	K	S	E	S	S	S	S	S/E	S°/E	S	S/E	30%	75%
SIP	3	M	Mex.	8	2nd	1st	1st	S/E	S	E	S	E	S	S	E	E	E	55%	90%
	4	M	Mex.	9	3rd	1st	K	S	E	E	S	S	S	S	E	E	S	55%	85%
SIP	5	M	U.S.	10	4th	1st	1st	S	E	E	S/E	S/E	S	S°/E	S/E	S/E	S/E	65%	90%
SIP	6	F	Arg.	10	4th	2nd	2nd	S	S/E	S	S	S	S	S	S/E	S	S	40%	95%
	7	F	Mex.	11	4th	1st*	1st	S	S/E	E	S	S/E	E+	S	E	E	S/E	55%	100%
	8	M	El Salv.	10	4th	2nd	1st	S	S	E	E	E	S	S	E	S	E	45%	80%
	9	F	Mex.	10	4th	1st	K	S	S/E	E	E	S	S	S	E	S	E	60%	90%
SIP	10	M	Mex.	10	4th	1st	1st	S	S/E	E	E	S	S	S	E	S	S	50%	95%

*Simultaneously attended All-English 1st grade
+In order to teach the language
°Language spoken more

SIP Subjects whose entire U.S. schooling has been in the SIP Program

Table 2

ANALYSIS OF EACH TEST ITEM: ALL RESPONSES

KEY: ++ Answer totally correct and includes structure under consideration
+ Structure tested is correct but an error occurs elsewhere in sentence
- Error in structure under consideration
0 Answer correct grammatically but doesn't include structure being tested
= Answer grammatically or contextually wrong and doesn't include structure

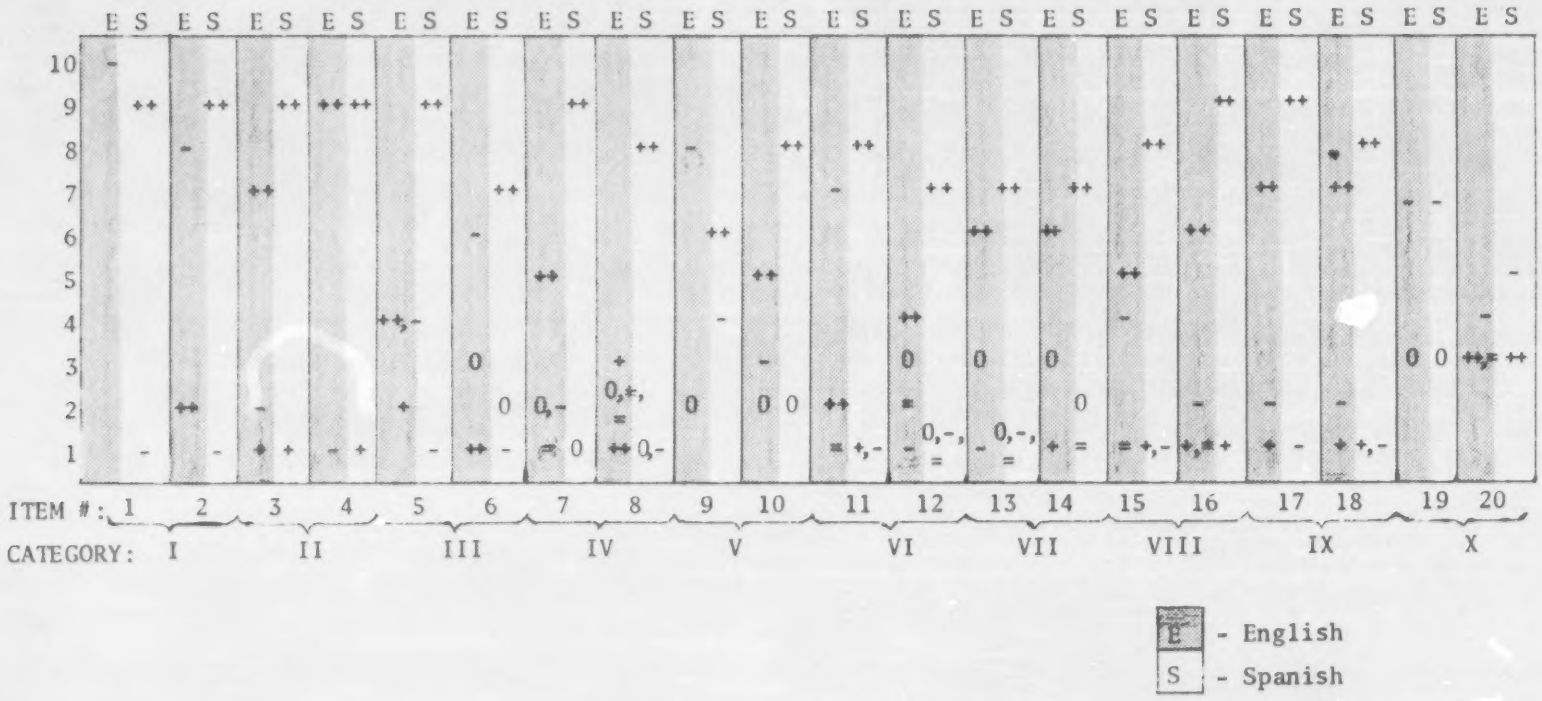


Table 3

Subj. Gd.	No.	Str's: Gd Rt	Ss: Gd Rt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		Str & S Gram'l & Approp ++	Str Gram'l & Approp +	Total Str's & Correct ++	S Correct Irrel to Str 0	Total Appr & Rt S's 0 & ++	Str Ungram or Inapprop -	S wrong, not incl str =	Total S's ungram, inapprop & +, - =	Str. Rt / All Str	% Str Rt	% S Rt
1st	1	63%	60%	-	-	-	++	+	0	0	=	-	++	++	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	-	1	9	1	10	3	12	6	1	8	10/16	63%	60%
		37%	15%	-	-	+	+	-	-	++	-	-	++	-	++	-	=	-	+	-	+	-	-		3	4	7	1	3	12	1	17	7/19	37%	15%
2nd	2			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	++	=	=	0	0	-	+	++	++	-	=	2	3	1	4	3	6	10	3	14	4/14	20%	30%
		41%	43%	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	++	++	=	=	0	++	++	++	++	-	0		14	/	14	1	15	2	2	4	14/16	88%	75%
2nd	3	89%	83%	-	-	++	++	++	-	++	=	-	++	-	++	++	+	++	++	-	++	-	++	3	11	1	12	/	11	7	1	9	12/19	63%	55%
				++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	-		18	/	18	/	18	2	/	2	18/20	90%	90%
3rd	4	63%	55%	-	-	++	++	++	-	++	+	-	-	-	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	=	4	11	1	12	/	11	7	1	9	12/19	63%	55%
		84%	85%	++	++	++	++	++	0	++	++	-	++	++	++	++	+++	++	++	++	++	-	-		16	/	16	1	17	3	0	3	16/19	84%	85%
4th	5			-	++	++	++	-	-	0	0	-	0	++	=	0	0	-	++	++	++	0	-	5	7	/	7	6	13	6	1	7	7/13	54%	65%
				++	++	++	++	++	++	0	++	-	0	+	++	0	0	++	++	++	++	0	0		12	1	13	6	18	1	/	2	13/14	93%	90%
4th	6			-	-	++	++	-	-	++	-	-	++	-	0	++	++	-	++	-	+	-	-	6	7	1	8	1	8	11	/	12	8/19	42%	40%
				++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	++		18	/	18	1	19	1	/	1	18/19	95%	95%
4th	7			-	-	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	-	-	-	-	++	=	=	++	++	0	++	7	10	/	10	1	11	7	2	9	10/17	59%	55%
		54%	53%	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	0	++		19	/	19	1	20	/	/	/	19/19	100%	100%
4th	8	93%	92%	-	++	+	++	-	-	=	0	0	++	-	++	++	++	++	-	+	-	-	-	8	7	2	9	2	9	8	1	11	9/17	53%	45%
				++	++	++	++	++	++	++	0	++	++	++	-	++	++	+	++	++	-	0	-		14	1	15	2	16	3	/	4	15/18	83⅓	80%
4th	9			-	-	++	++	+		++	+	-	0	-	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	=	9	10	2	12	2	12	5	1	8	12/16	75%	60%
				++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	-		17	/	17	1	18	2	/	2	17/19	89%	90%
4th	10			-	-	++	++	++	0	-	+	-	-	-	0	0	0	-	-	++	-	0	++	10	5	1	6	5	10	9	/	10	6/15	40%	50%
				++	++	++	++	++	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	-	++		18	/	18	1	19	1	/	1	18/19	95%	95%

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
% CORRECT PER STRUCTURE		0/10	20/10	80/10	90/10	60/10	14/7	71/7	67/6	0/8	63/8	22/9	80/5	86/7	∞/7	56/9	78/9	80/10	80/10	0/7	43/7
		90/10	90/10	∞/10	∞/10	90/10	88/8	∞/9	89/9	60/10	∞/8	90/10	88/8	88/8	∞/7	90/10	∞/10	90/10	90/10	0/7	38/8
% CORRECT PER CATEGORY		10%		85%		37%		69%		32%		51%		93%		67%		80%		22%	
		90%		100%		89%		95%		80%		89%		94%		85%		90%		19%	
		I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX		X	

Table 4

SUBJECT:		TRANSFER N. Errors	TRANSFER %	OVERGENERALIZATION N. Errors	OVERGENERALIZATION %
1	E	1	11	8	89
	S	1	6	16	94
2	E	0	0	12	100
	S	0	0	4	100
3	E	2	33	4	67
	S	0	0	2	100
4	E	1	14	6	86
	S	0	0	3	100
5	E	2	29	5	71
	S	0	0	3	100
6	E	2	20	8	80
	S	0	0	1	100
7	E	0	0	8	100
	S	0	0	0	100
8	E	2	12	15	88
	S	1	33	2	66
9	E	2	20	8	80
	S	0	0	2	100
10	E	2	22	7	78
	S	0	0	1	100

Number and Proportion of Transfer and Over-generalization errors in English and Spanish for each subject.

E	English
S	Spanish

Table 5

DISTRIBUTION OF ERRORS IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

- Number and Type of Errors:

		Transfer	Overgeneralization	Ambiguous
Syntactic	E	9	1	1
	S	0	1	0
Contextually Inappropriate	E	0	3	0
	S	0	4	0
Lexical	E	3	26	1
	S	2	5	0
Phonological	E	0	0	0
	S	0	2	0
Morphological	E	2	51	6
	S	0	22	5
Total Errors:	E	14	81	8
	S	2	34	5

- % and Type of Errors:

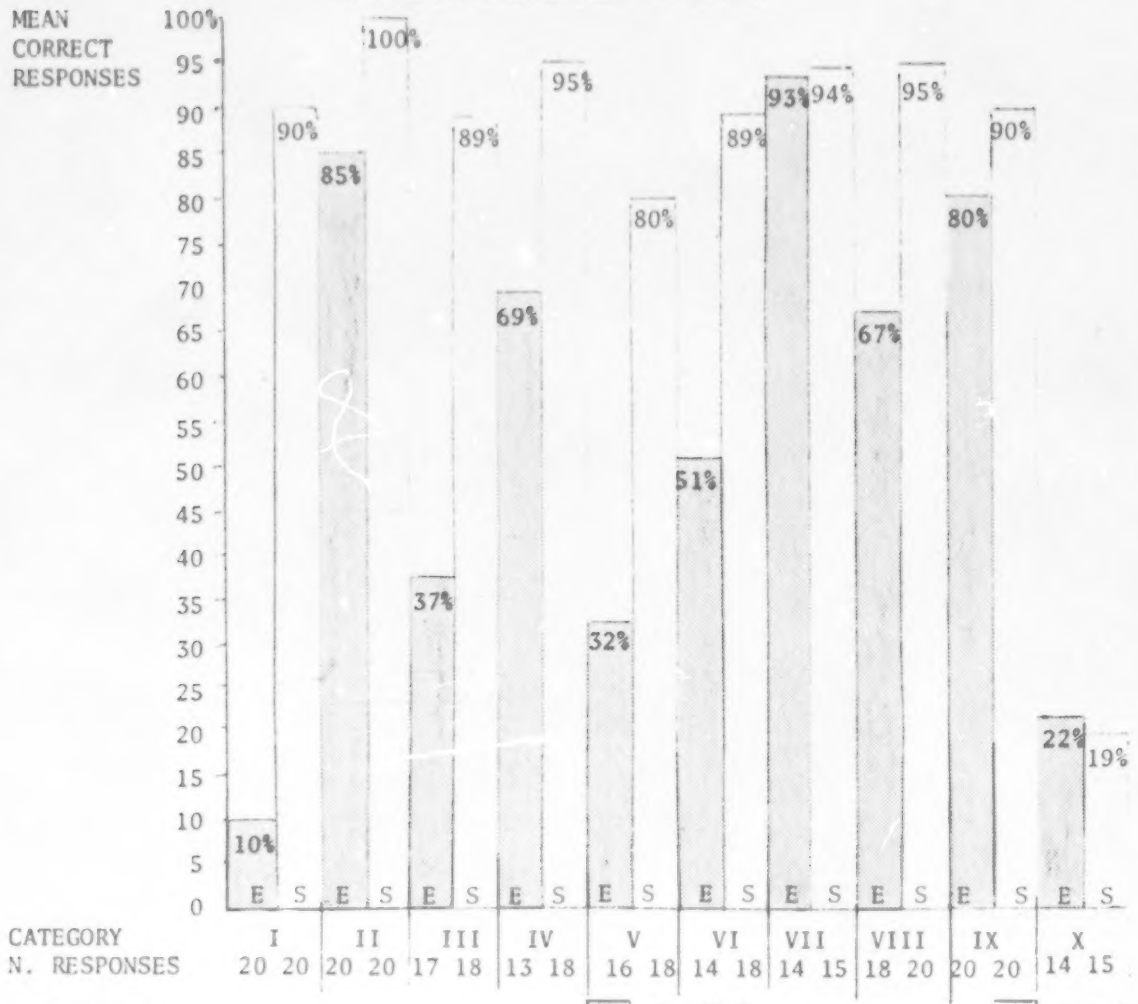
		Transfer	Overgeneralization	Ambiguous
Syntactic	E	64%	1%	125%
	S	0	3	00
Contextually Inappropriate	E	0	4	0
	S	0	12	0
Lexical	E	22	32	125
	S	100	15	0
Phonological	E	0	0	0
	S	0	6	0
Morphological	E	14		75
	S	0	64	100

E	English
S	Spanish

Figure 1

MEAN OF CORRECT RESPONSES

FOR EACH GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY

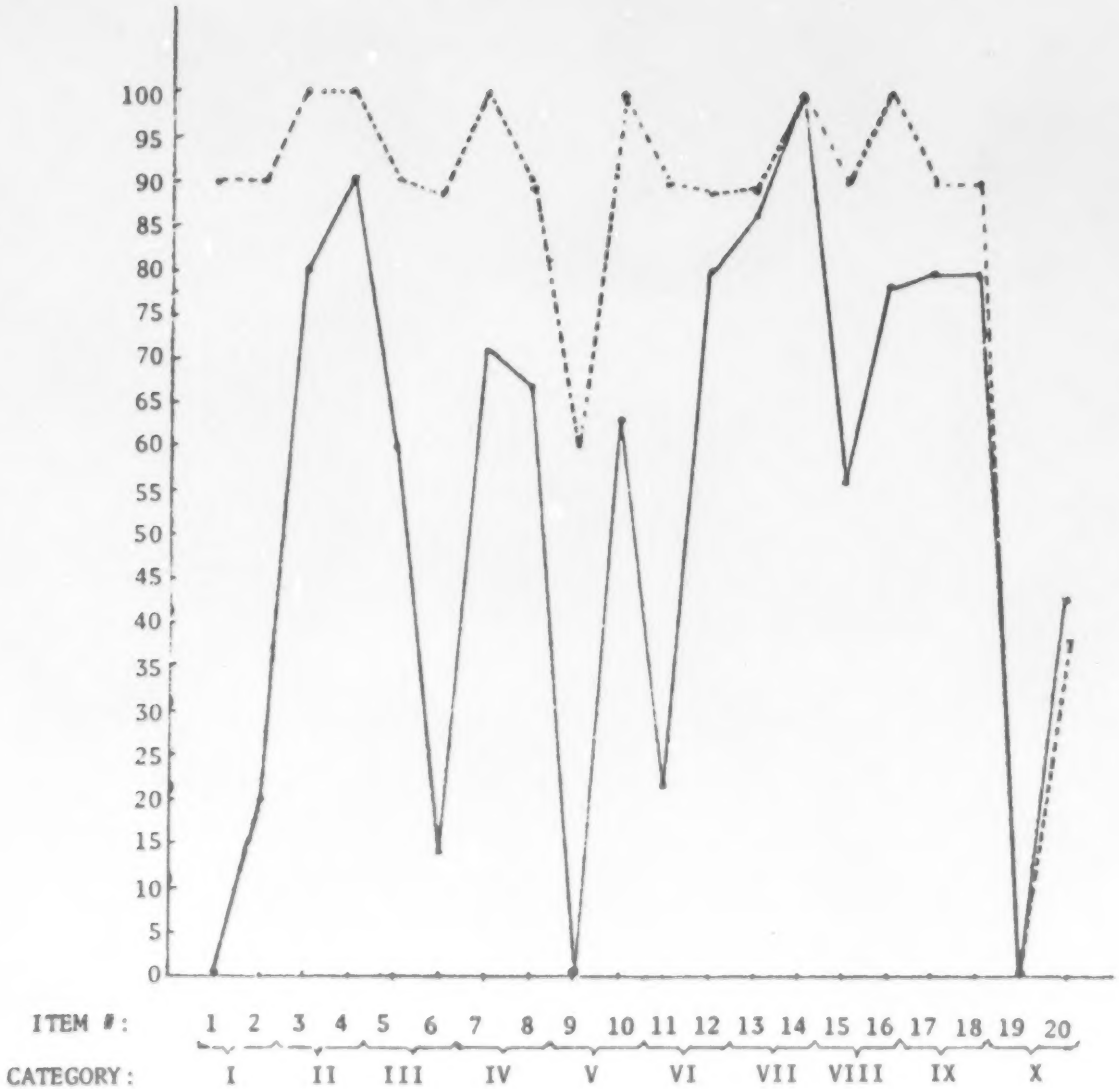


CATEGORIES:

I - Singular to plural
II - Plural to singular
III - Present to past
IV - Past affirmative to present negative
V - Location (prepositions)
VI - Interrogative: indirect to direct
VII - Imperative: indirect to direct
VIII - Interrogative: direct to indirect
IX - Imperative: direct to indirect
X - Comparative

Figure 2

MEAN CORRECT RESPONSE
FOR EACH STRUCTURE*



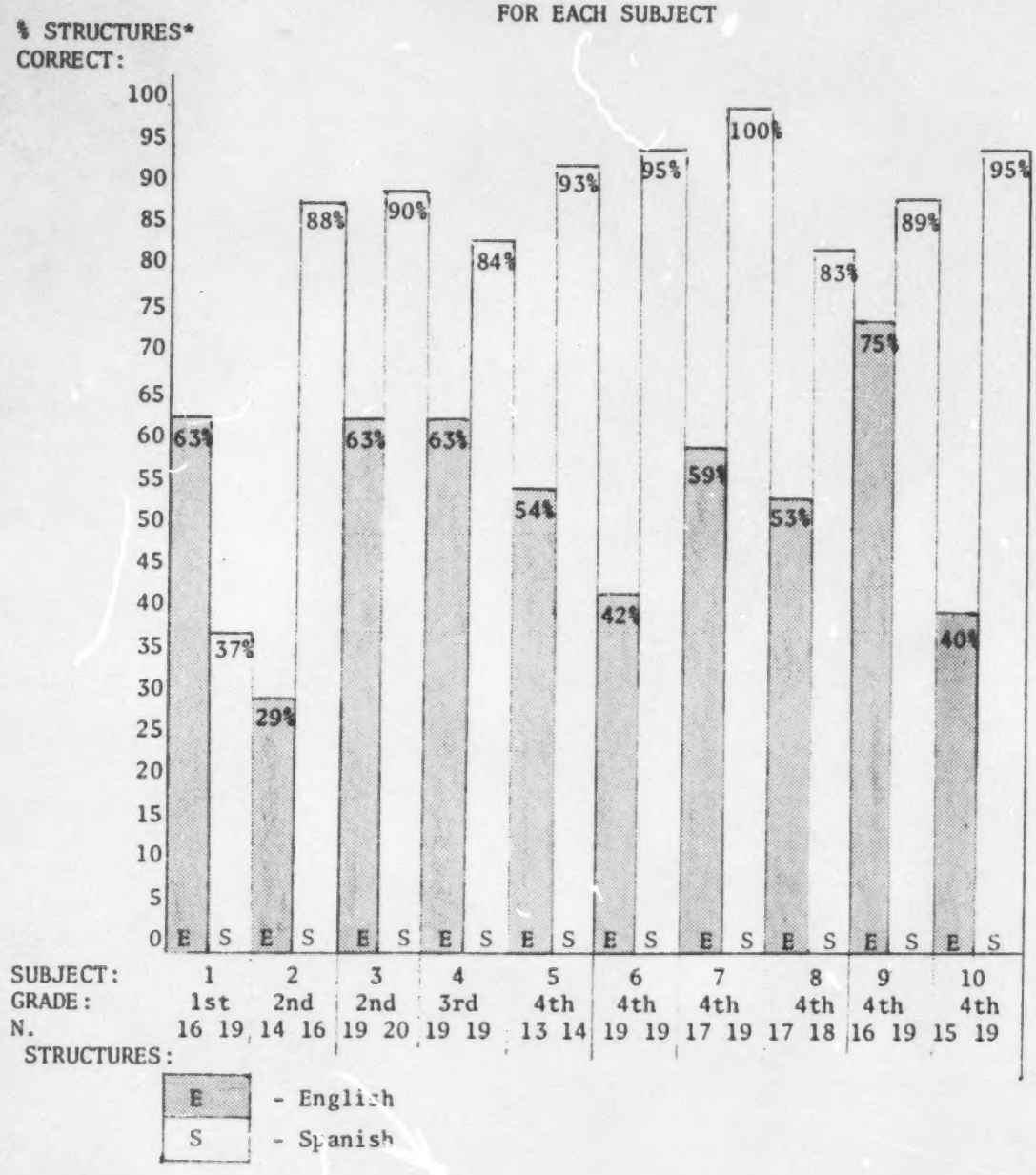
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Spanish structures

_____ English structures

*Structures only correct; there may be errors in other parts of the utterance.

Figure 3

% STRUCTURES* CORRECT FOR EACH SUBJECT



*This considers only structures correct; there may be errors in other parts of the sentence.

Figure 4

% GRAMMATICAL, APPROPRIATE SENTENCES FOR EACH SUBJECT

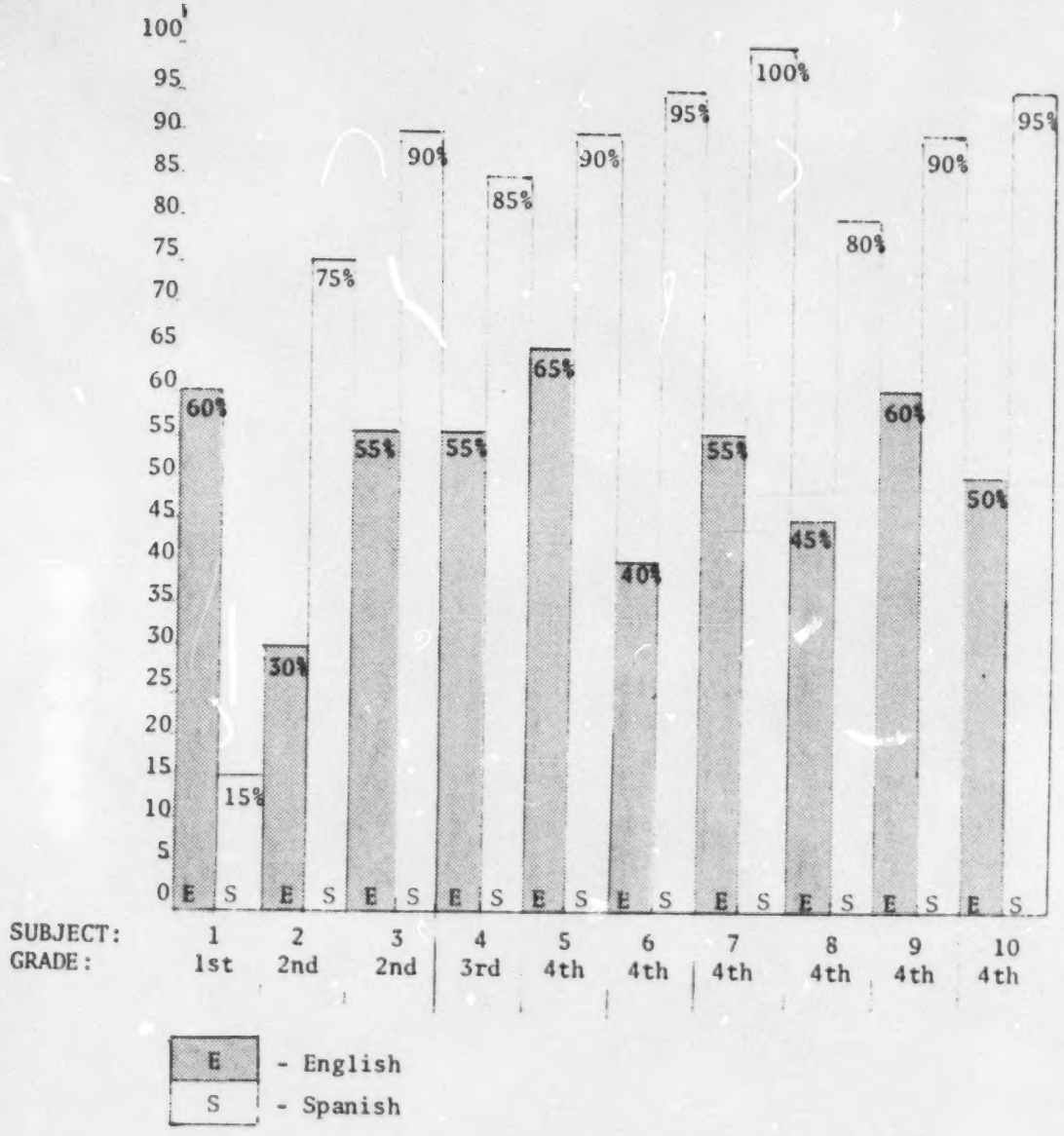


Figure 5

MEANS AND PROPORTIONS OF
OVERGENERALIZATION AND TRANSFER
ERRORS IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

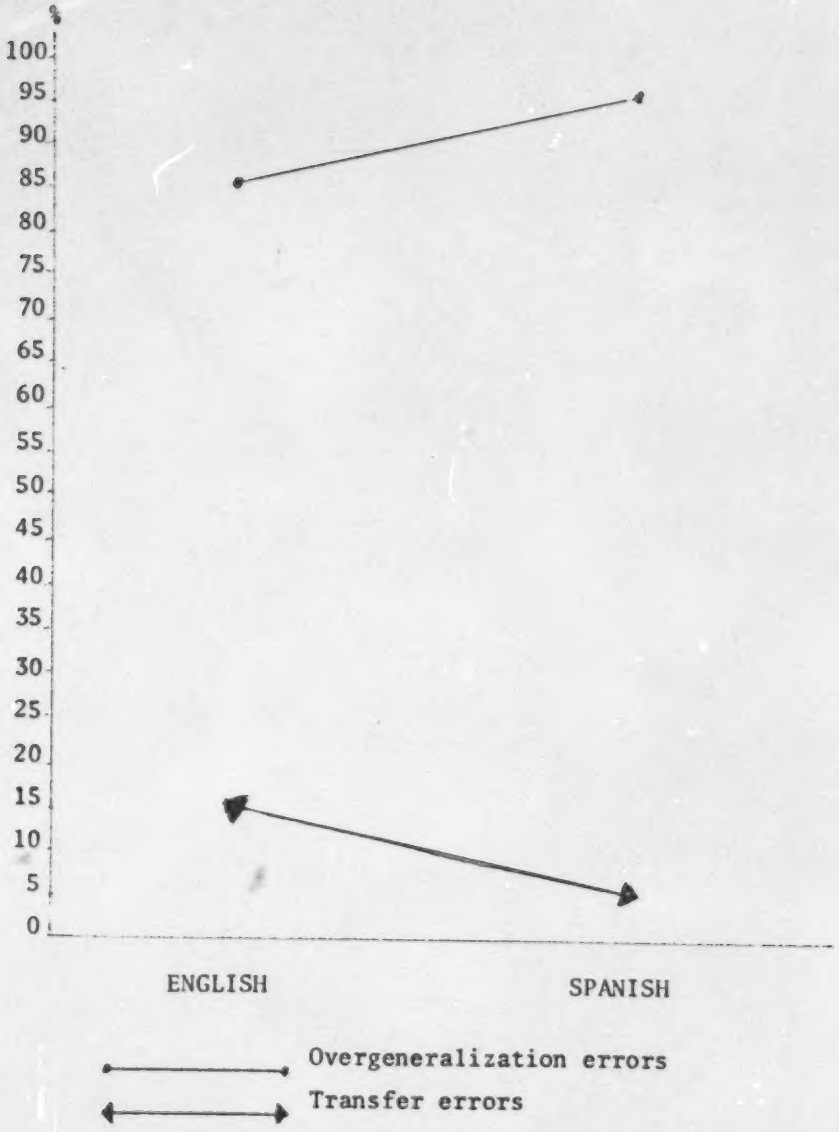
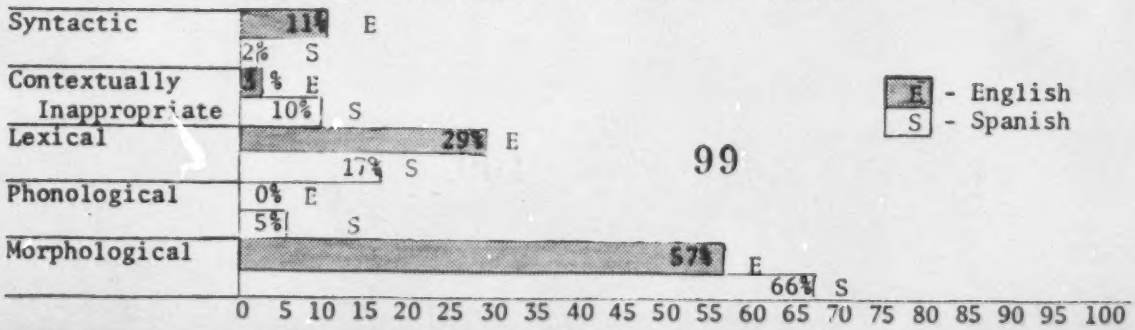


Figure 6

DISTRIBUTION OF ERRORS BY LINGUISTIC CATEGORY



99

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A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL DISPLAY OF SOME TESL ACTIVITIES IN THE CERTIFICATE PROGRAM

by
Earl Rand

PURPOSE

This paper illustrates some methods for displaying questionnaire data with the aim that students and researchers will see how they can test the dimensionality of their data.

Typically, TESL questionnaire and test data are described in terms of means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficients. These statistics are all very useful in describing uni-dimensional data. But often data are multi-dimensional. First, the variables measure more than one underlying factor. For example, in the same instrument, one collects data on subjects' feelings toward family life and politics. Or, second, the subjects themselves may form into subgroups expressing either different viewpoints or different combinations of attributes. For example, students vary in their ability to pronounce foreign sounds, to remember vocabulary, to infer meaning, etc. Or the subjects may be both native and non-native speakers.

To lump variables together or to group subjects together when they are not homogeneous, at some low level of abstraction, clouds the analysis. The analysis will not represent the "reality" of the situation. Decisions taken on the basis of fuzzy analyses will invariably be less effective than those taken on sharp, clear, revealing descriptions of the data. It is the purpose of this paper to show how some quite ordinary questionnaire data can be analyzed to reveal underlying structuures.

SUBJECTS, METHODS, AND PROCEDURES

A Disclaimer

First, before describing the methodology, it must be clarified that this research is preliminary and tentative. The students ranked only eleven activities of the TESL program. Omitted were, for example, the movies seen in 370K and the foreign language requirement (for native English speakers). Also, no attempt was made to collect data from all the students in the program. Thus, though I believe the data analysis to be sound, the questionnaire and actual results can not be considered either complete, reliable, or valid.

Subjects

Data was collected from thirty-five students and five faculty. The students included: eleven foreign students; two students currently teaching adult evening school in Los Angeles; eight students who are or have been teaching assistants in the TESL program; eight males and twenty-seven females; seventeen with one or more years of teaching experience.

Data

The students were asked to complete a questionnaire on the TESL Program in which they ranked the helpfulness of eleven activities. The complete questionnaire is reproduced in the Appendix.

The five faculty were asked to complete two questionnaires in terms of ranking the activities as to their relative helpfulness for (1) students with no previous teaching experience and (2) students with one or more years of teaching experience.

The data, along with SPSS control cards to help identify the variables, are available from the author.

ANALYSIS

The analysis proceeds in five steps.

1. Uni-dimensional: Means and Standard Deviations

The means and standard deviations are:

(Table 1)

The data are ordinal, i.e., ranks. It is not appropriate to take the average of ranked data, but it is fairly common to do so in informal program evaluation. One should not average ranked data because ranks do not reveal the magnitude of the difference between items, but means are sensitive to magnitudes. If John, Bill, and Fred rank 1, 2, and 3 in income, but they respectively make ten, fifteen, and seventy-five thousand dollars per year, their average income is $33,000, a number which does not reflect the true state of affairs. And a mean of the ranks, 2.0, tells even less. Another example: from closest to farthest from Los Angeles are San Diego, San Francisco, and Tokyo. The ranks of 1, 2, and 3 do not show that Tokyo is many times further from Los Angeles than either San Diego or San Francisco are; or that San Francisco is three times further from Los Angeles than San Diego is. This is to say that rankings give the order but fail to give the magnitude of the differences between items.

But averaging ranks would not be so bad if doing so revealed some important property of the data (Stevens, 1951, p. 27). In the present case, in which items 3, 8, and 9 all have approximately the same mean ranking, the statistic actually misrepresent the data. To say that the three activities are equally helpful to students in the program is wrong. They vary, as we will see below, in their relative helpfulness, depending on the student involved.

2. Bivariate Correlation Coefficients

Another common analytic technique is to compute the correlation coefficient between two variables. This widely used statistic indicates how closely two sets of numbers vary with each other. It always lies between -1.0 and 1.0. A coefficient of +1.0 indicates perfect agreement; -1.0 perfect disagreement; and 0.0 no agreement. To be useful, a correlation should be greater than .30 or less than -.30

Between the eleven variables, the fifty-five coefficients are presented below. They range from -.67

(writing and aiding) to +.42 (writing and exams), thus as the subjects rank writing higher, they rank aiding lower; and conversely, as they rank writing lower, they rank aiding higher. Most are between -.20 and +.20. Look at Table 2.

(Table 2)

The above discussion deals with the eleven variables. Even with only eleven, it is difficult to grasp the underlying meaning and pattern of the data. It is difficult to feret out the underlying pattern of the data, if there is one. One can also compute correlations between each of the forty-five subjects to see who rank the variables similarly. Nine hundred and ninety coefficients would be required. And it would be very difficult, again, to discover the groups of students reporting similar rankings, if there are groups.

Obviously, wherever there are many variables and the researcher isn't quite sure what to look for, then the simple, bivariate correlation coefficient is not very helpful.

3. Conjoint Multi-dimensional Scaling (MDS)

The problem with correlation coefficients is that it takes only two items of interest at a time when what is needed is a look at all the eleven stimuli ("activities" here) and forty-five respondants at once. MDPREF, a conjoint MDS program does this.

The procedure used in MDPREF has been outlined as follows by Chang and Carroll, 1968, and Carroll, 1964. Given the ranking of each stimuli by each subject, the program computes a "first score matrix" by subtracting the mean of each subject's rankings (6 in every case in this data) from his ranking of each stimuli. Next the scores are factor analyzed (by the Eckart-Young procedure) to yield a configuration of points in some specified number of dimensions (four in the present case) such that the order of preference expressed by the subjects is as similar as possible to the overall order of preference.

Put more simply, the procedure attempts to place the stimuli which receive similar rankings close together in space and put stimuli with different rankings further apart in space. Then it attempts to map subjects into this same conjoint space. Thus we can see how close a given subject is to each of the eleven activities and how the eleven activities are arranged in space. We can also recognize groups of subjects and clumps of stimuli, if they exist.

The output from MDPREF is the coordinates for each stimulus (activity) and for each subject (person) on the various dimensions underlying the rankings and persons. Thus, if it has been specified by the user that he wants the data described in four dimensions (i.e., with four underlying abstract variables, or factors, or components), then, for each stimulus and person, the program will compute its place along each of the four dimensions. The output is given below in Table 3.

(Table 3)

4. Plotting

Just looking at a long four-column table isn't always the easiest way to see the relationships in the data. For this reason, using the coordinates for each point, one can plot two dimensions at a time on paper. With four dimensions, this means six scattergrams or plots. The scattergram for dimensions 1 and 2 are given below.

(Plot 1)

By identifying points on the face of the plot, we can easily see the placement of stimuli and subjects. That is, we can see where subjects and stimuli lie in relation to each other and to their own respective groups. Thus, any patterning in the data should come out. (Of course, this is only for two dimensions at a time.)

The numbers 1 - 9 and the letters A and B on the plot indicate the eleven items of the questionnaire. For example, B indicates "Aiding in 832 and the 33 classes." The letters C - Z and other symbols (=;:"?>)$<, etc) indicate the forty-five subjects (35 students and 10 faculty rankings). Now, it is evident that "B" was not really close to any subject or to any of the other items, whereas "9" ("Teaching in the 33 classes, local schools") is considered very helpful to a certain group of students. Also close to "9" were all five faculty rankings of what they considered to be helpful to students entering the Certificate Program without any teaching experience.

As pointed out above, there exists a group of students very close to "9", and this group felt that "teaching in the 33 classes, local schools" was by far the most helpful activity in the TESL program. Distant from this group, we find another group who consider lectures, written reports,

and discussion all very helpful. There were no foreign students in the first group, and no native English speakers in the second group. These two groups have ranked the eleven activities quite differently, revealing quite different viewpoints on the helpfulness of the activities.

Clearly, this two-dimensional plot is more revealing of the actual value (helpfulness) of the eleven activities than are the means and standard deviations. In fact, a simple uni-dimensional analysis or representation of the data shows that Teaching, Reading the Professional Literature, and Writing Papers were all about equal in rankings. In fact, all three are rated highly by by certain subgroups. But they are not considered equally helpful by all, or even a majority of students. Students differ from each other in their assessment of the helpfulness of the eleven activities on the questionnaire, and the plot reveals some of these differences.

Four dimensions were computed by MDPREF. In order to see the other two dimensions, lines can be drawn to indicate the height above or the distance below the plane formed by dimensions 1 and 2. This has been done in Plot 2.

(Plot 2)

Plot 2 shows that, for example, although a number of subjects are close to point "9" (Teaching), some are closer than others. These are the ones below the surface created by dimensions 1 and 2 and are shown with dotted lines.

Besides using lines, one can indicate the depth on the third dimension by relative shades of darkness. In Plot 3, which was computed using a geography program called SUPERMAP, we see the lower points in lighter shades and the higher points in darker shades.

(Plot 3)

SUPERMAP has a number of options and electives the user can choose. Plot 4 is the same data plotted with other options.

(Plot 4)

The final display of the data, as treated by MDPREF, is

a visual topographic map, computed by SYMVU. Looking at the three dimensions from different sides and elevations, we see that the students in the TESL program express at least three different viewspoints about the helpfulness of the eleven activites in the program. (Plots 5,6, and 7)

CONCLUSIONS

The point of this paper is to show that complex data must be treated with complex tools. People are more complex than many research projects would seem to indicate. Multi-dimensional analyses can reveal some of these differences.

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Appendix

TESL Activities Preference Questionnaire

Please return your completed questionnaire to the TESL Office, Rolfe Hall 3303.

We would like to know which activities have helped you the most and which have helped you the least in your own personal program. That is, we would like to know which activities helped you learn what you wanted to learn in the TESL program. Thus, answer only in terms of what you feel was good for you yourself.

Because further information may be needed, in the form of a brief interview, please complete the following:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Native Language: _____

Teaching experience, as of now: _____

Please rank the following eleven activities as to their relative helpfulness. Put them in order from 11 to 1. Write an "11" on the line to the left of the most helpful. Write a "10" on the line to the left of the next most helpful, and so on down to "1" for the least helpful to you personally. Use all eleven numbers. Do not use any number more than once.

(If you did not participate in an activity, then it did not help you. Thus, you would rank it low, i.e., 3, 2, or 1. However, if you think that it might have helped you, you can give it a high rating.)

_____ Giving oral class reports of your own work
_____ Visiting and observing ESL classes, i.e., English 832 & 33 and classes in local schools
_____ Reading professional TESL books, journal articles, and manuscripts
_____ Developing your own lesson plans
_____ Listening to class lectures (in general, no particular teacher)
_____ Taking examinations, tests, quizzes in TESL courses
_____ Listening to oral reports of other students' work
_____ Participating in class discussions (lead by the teacher or by another student)
_____ Teaching in the 33 classes, local schools
_____ Writing reports of your own work (term papers, etc., exclude lesson plans)
_____ Aiding in English 832 and 33 classes

COMMENTS:

Table 1

VARIABLE	MEAN	STANDARD DEV
GIVEORAL	4.5535	2.2568
OBSERVE	6.5116	3.0722
READTESL	7.6512	2.1805
LESPLANS	7.8372	2.4195
LECTURES	5.8140	2.5282
EXAMS	2.7674	1.8366
LISTORAL	4.6977	2.2204
DISCUSS	6.4186	2.2697
TEACHING	7.9302	3.9303
WRITING	6.6279	2.7651
AIDING	4.8372	4.3640

In Tables 1 and 2, the eleven items of the eleven questions on the questionnaire. They are in the same order, e.g., "GIVEORAL" is "Giving oral reports of your own work."

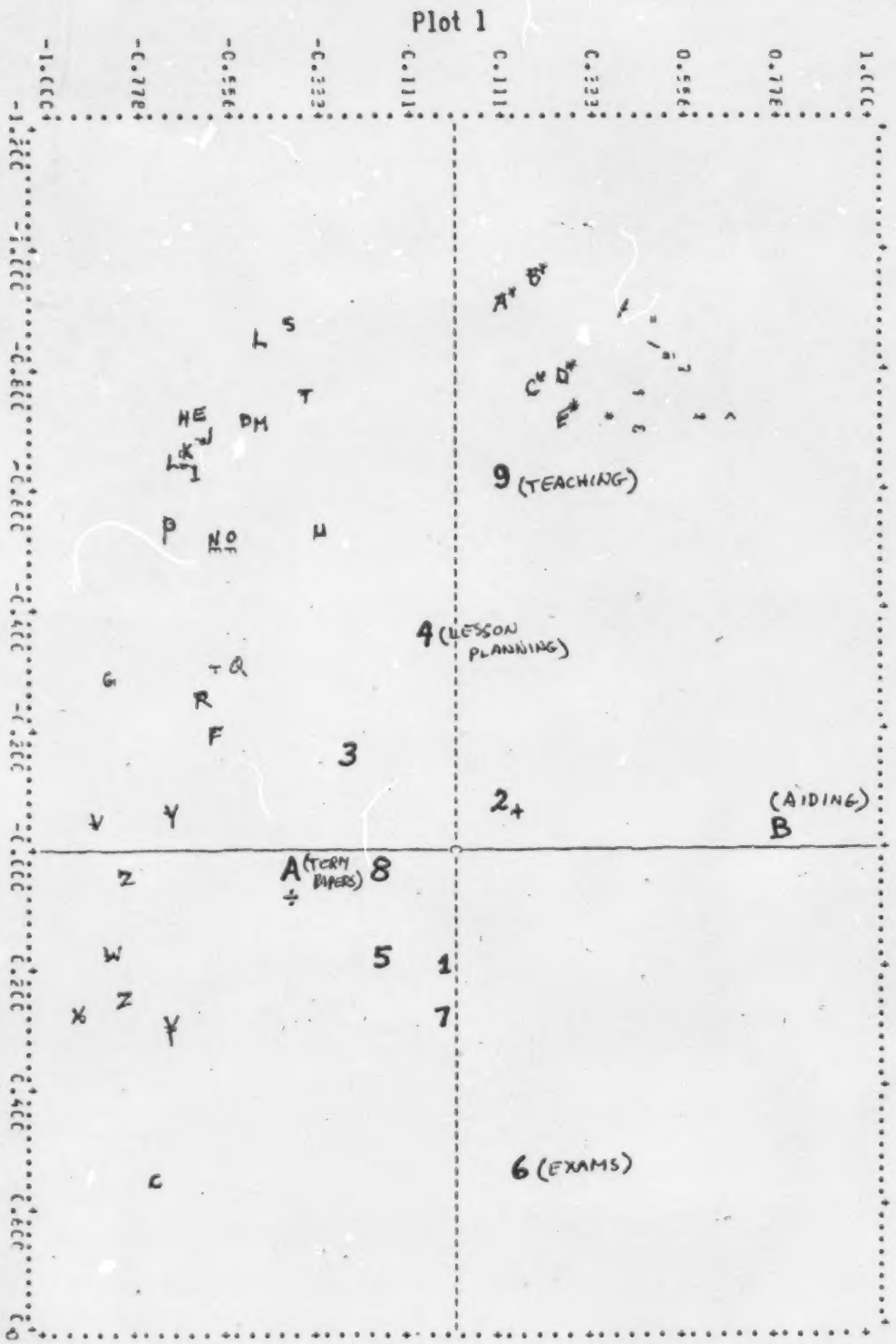
Table 2

	GIVEORAL	OBSERVE	READTESL	LESPLANS	LECTURES	EXAMS
GIVEORAL	1.00000	-0.01708	-0.17269	0.01662	-0.04228	0.02125
OBSERVE	-0.01708	1.00000	-0.36133	0.05754	-0.25553	-0.16401
READTESL	-0.17269	-0.36133	1.00000	-0.27724	0.27252	0.20836
LESPLANS	0.01662	0.05754	-0.27724	1.00000	-0.33058	-0.25644
LECTURES	-0.04228	-0.25553	0.27252	-0.33058	1.00000	0.26733
EXAMS	0.02125	-0.16401	0.20836	-0.25644	0.26733	1.00000
LISTORAL	0.23470	-0.02513	-0.21957	-0.21068	0.14778	-0.04100
DISCUSS	0.15231	-0.43610	0.16078	0.04628	0.13564	0.02401
TEACHING	-0.26344	-0.01556	-0.25846	0.04885	-0.15852	-0.21642
WRITING	-0.15505	-0.24486	0.32100	0.15952	0.31524	0.46990
AIDING	-0.26314	0.16000	-0.21165	0.21642	-0.46990	-0.43855

	LISTORAL	DISCUSS	TEACHING	WRITING	AIDING
	0.23470	0.15231	-0.26344	-0.15505	-0.26314
	-0.02513	-0.43610	-0.01556	-0.24486	0.16000
	-0.21957	0.16078	-0.25846	0.32100	-0.21165
	-0.21068	0.04628	0.04885	0.15952	0.21642
	0.14778	0.13564	-0.15852	0.31524	-0.46990
	-0.04100	0.02401	0.21642	0.46990	-0.43855
	1.00000	0.22038	-0.31856	0.11653	-0.24425
	0.22038	1.00000	-0.25931	0.25564	-0.26516
	-0.31856	-0.25931	1.00000	-0.38529	0.23805
	0.11653	0.25564	-0.38529	1.00000	-0.67898
	-0.24425	-0.26516	0.23805	-0.67898	1.00000

Table 3

0.19750	-0.21868	0.06241	0.33697	1.
-0.07152	0.12114	0.74841	0.08709	2.
-0.16054	-0.25300	-0.15324	-0.49259	3.
-0.36457	-0.08590	0.32503	-0.08880	4.
0.17511	-0.19868	-0.20268	-0.16422	5.
0.54383	0.15047	-0.15230	0.13193	6.
0.28264	-0.04330	0.02934	0.30431	7.
0.01195	-0.19353	-0.26556	-0.06358	8.
-0.62456	0.12472	-0.39237	0.49753	9
0.02254	-0.42503	0.09334	-0.18563	10
-0.01242	0.79180	-0.09237	-0.40983	11.
0.55778	-0.74117	-0.31217	-0.20519	12
-0.71015	-0.51167	-0.08024	0.47690	13.
-0.72520	-0.64421	-0.15752	0.18514	14
-0.20878	-0.57933	0.78299	0.08785	15
-0.27585	-0.86087	-0.26424	-0.33614	16
-0.71717	-0.66864	0.02036	-0.19540	17
-0.72831	-0.67555	-0.08659	0.07548	18
-0.68803	-0.64633	-0.27694	0.17937	19
-0.65031	-0.64933	0.03021	0.41542	20
-0.64643	-0.68054	-0.33724	0.07253	21
-0.65464	-0.64848	0.33851	0.19064	22
-0.83438	-0.46474	0.26631	0.13004	23
-0.71570	-0.50687	0.20920	0.43254	24
-0.50206	-0.60915	0.61338	-0.02515	25
-0.49660	-0.57021	-0.65211	-0.05474	26
-0.53155	-0.70738	-0.09498	0.45611	27
-0.29118	-0.59814	-0.47078	-0.57949	28
-0.26731	-0.61436	-0.71744	0.19077	29.
-0.88036	-0.40040	0.18732	0.17192	30
-0.75100	-0.37227	0.25700	0.48100	31
-0.52579	-0.32943	-0.30386	0.72297	32.
-0.03306	-0.90328	0.19220	-0.38217	33.
0.18155	-0.86859	0.18491	-0.42237	34.
0.28901	-0.90783	-0.19369	-0.23411	35.
-0.06985	-0.71932	0.64773	-0.24113	36
0.04823	-0.82020	0.15533	-0.54848	37
0.29739	-0.69788	0.57046	-0.31481	38
0.24078	-0.81216	0.50532	-0.16454	39
0.07592	-0.40112	0.90101	0.14673	40
-0.06506	0.13490	0.03915	-0.98795	41
-0.91859	0.11276	0.24207	-0.29133	42
-0.96022	0.17721	0.09927	-0.19161	43
-0.75359	0.18120	-0.50327	-0.38209	44
-0.71317	0.26847	-0.47470	-0.44041	45
-0.78622	0.24182	-0.49552	-0.27893	46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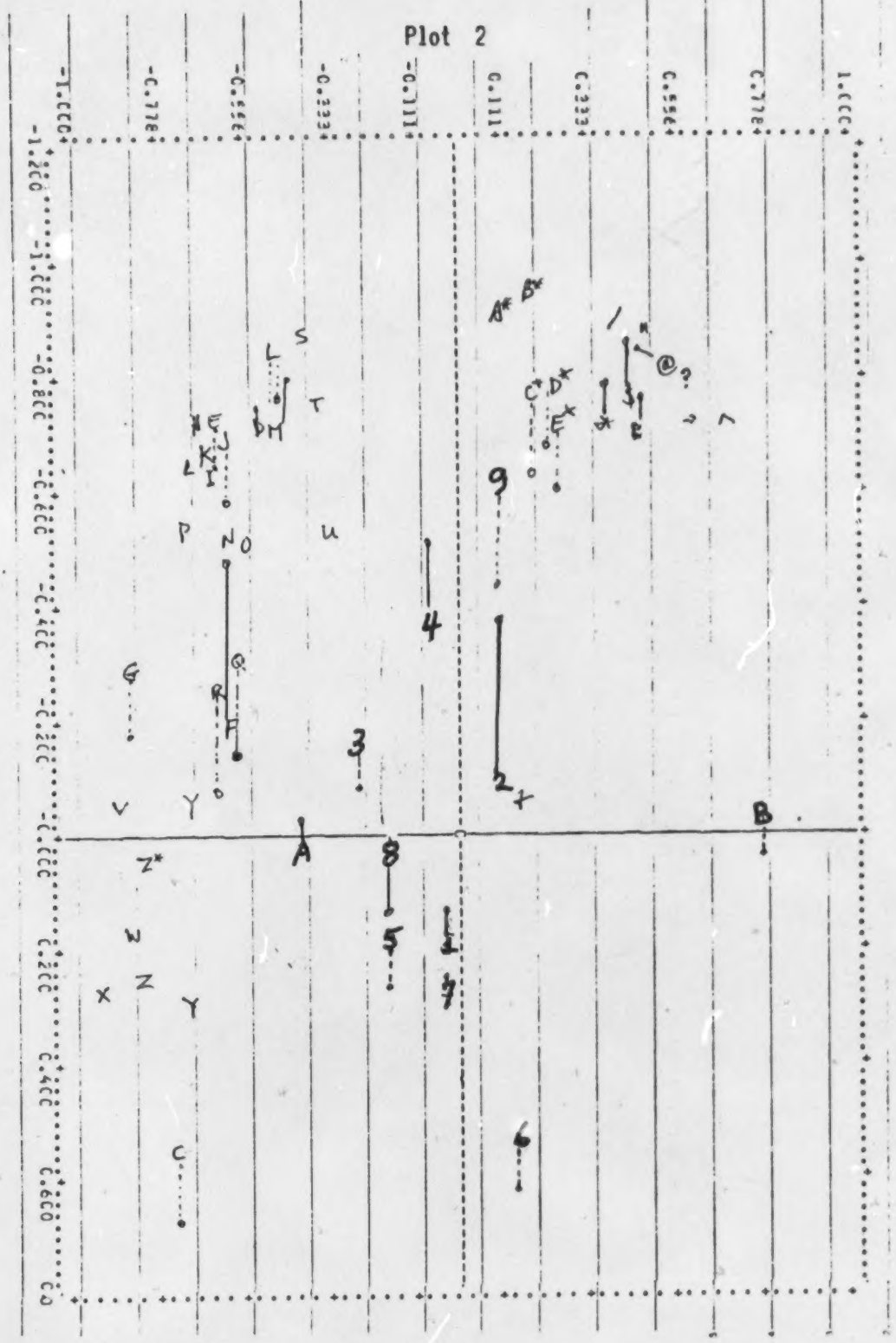
-0.778
-0.556
-0.333
-0.111
0.111
0.333
0.556
0.778
1.000
9 (TEACHING)
4 (LESSON PLANNING)
3
2
(AIDING)
B
A (TERM PAPERS)
8
5
1
7
6 (EXAMS)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1.000
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B
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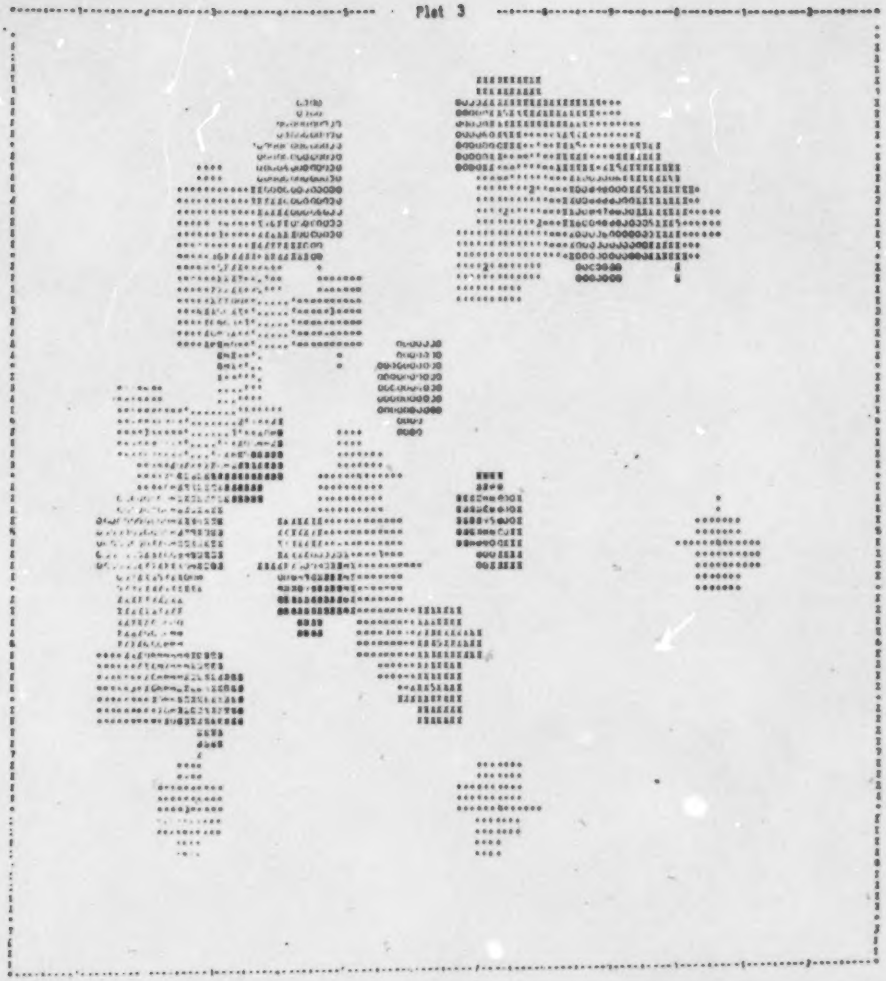
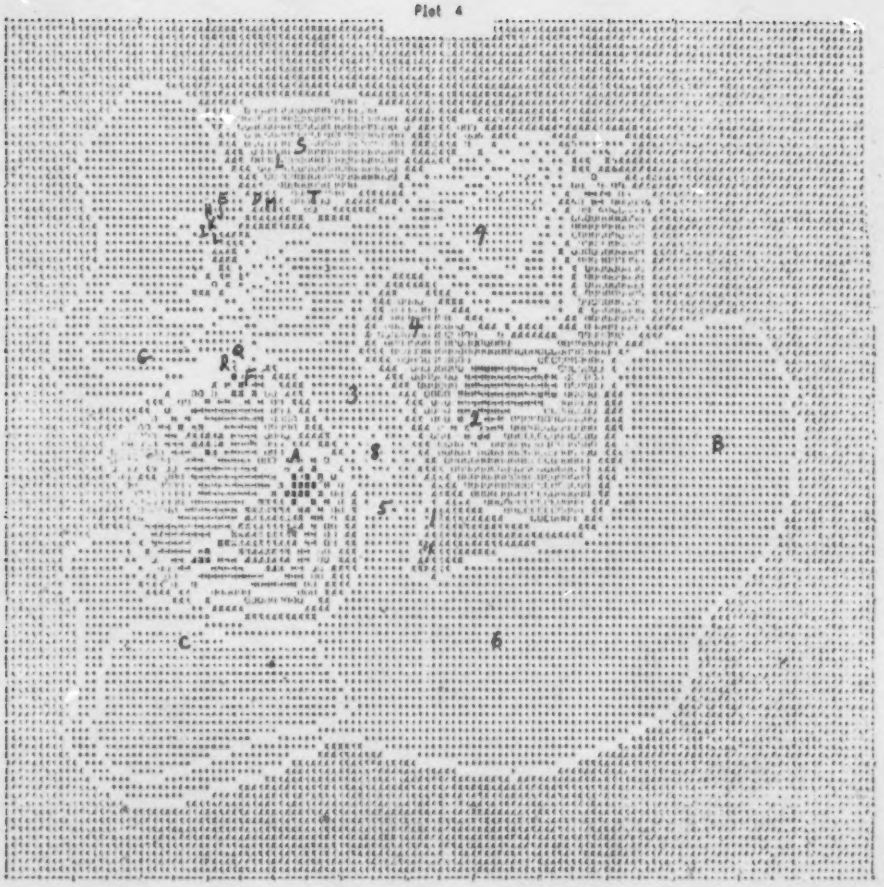
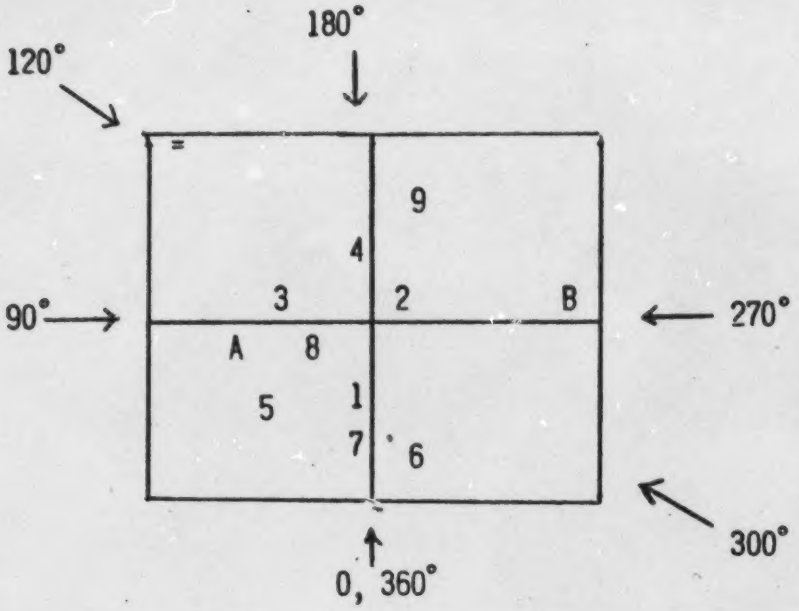
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9


Plot 3


Plot 4

Azimuth and Altitude

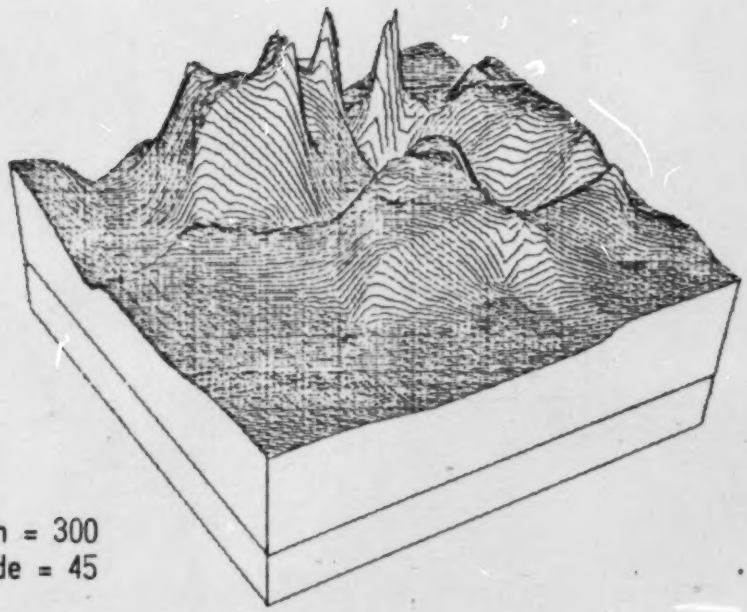


The azimuth indicates the angle of view.
The altitude indicates the height.

The figures on the face of the above plot indicate the eleven items on the questionnaire: 1-9, A=10, B=11.

Plot 6 is opposite Plot 5.

Plot 5



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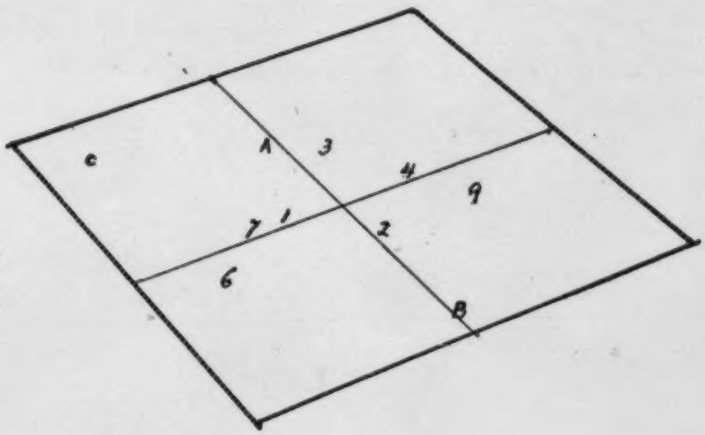
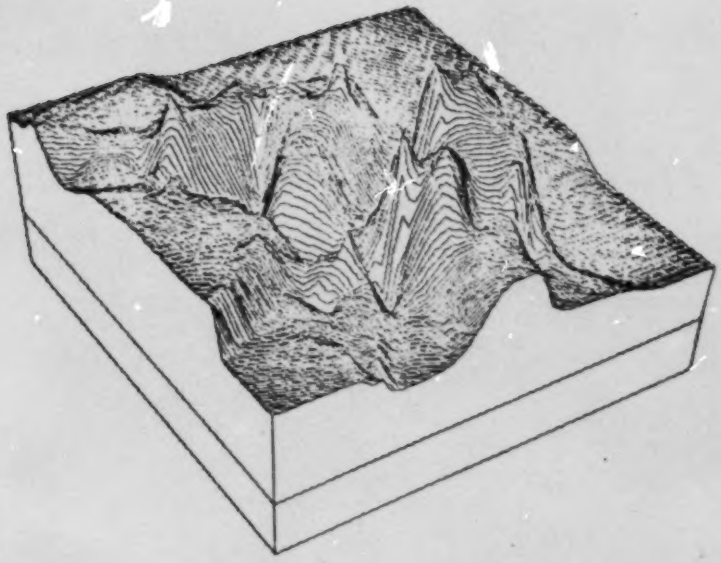
Altitude = 45



Plot 6



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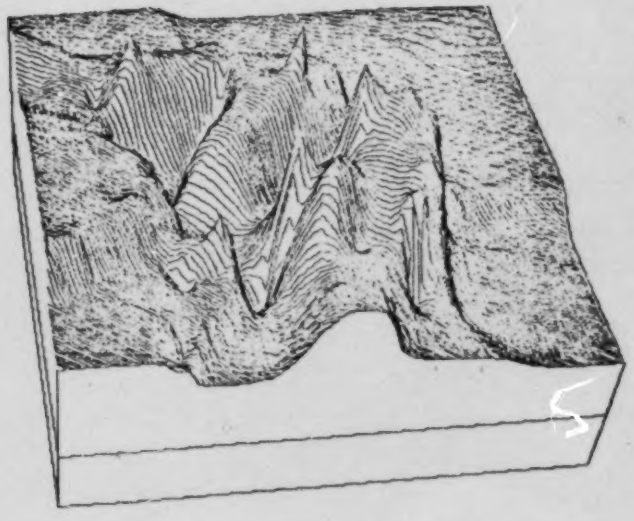
Altitude = 45

Plot 7



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SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: THE PIDGINIZATION HYPOTHESIS

John H. Schumann

Abstract

This paper is a case study of the untutored acquisition of English by a 33-year-old Costa Rican named Alberto. His language learning was examined longitudinally for a ten month period. During that time he evidenced very little linguistic growth. Three causes for Alberto's lack of development are considered: ability, age, and social and psychological distance. Performance on a test of adoptive intelligence indicated that lack of ability is not adequate to explain his acquisition pattern. Also, due to the inadequacy of the arguments for a biological critical period in language acquisition, age is also rejected as a cause. Alberto's English speech, however, showed evidence of pidginization. Pidginization is seen as the result of the learner's social and psychological distance from speakers of the target language. Hence, it is argued that Alberto's lack of development in English is the result of his social and psychological distance from native speakers of English.

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In the fall of 1973 a research project (Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, 1975) was undertaken to make a ten-month longitudinal study of the untutored acquisition of English by six native speakers of Spanish--two children, two adolescents and two adults. Data collection involved the recording of both spontaneous and experimentally elicited speech. This report is a case study of one of the six subjects, a 33-year-old Costa Rican named Alberto, who evidenced very little linguistic development during the course of the project. It was felt that by attempting to account for his lack of learning, significant insight could be gained on what is involved in successful second language acquisition in general.

1. Developmental patterns in the negative, interrogative and auxiliary. The research focused on the subjects' acquisition of negatives, wh- questions and auxiliaries. The analysis revealed several clear patterns of development. In the negative all subjects began with no + verb (no V) constructions in which the negative particle, while internal to the sentence, was external to the verb: I no can see, But no is mine ..., I no use television. Simultaneously or shortly afterwards the subjects started using don't + verb (don't V) constructions. Here don't did not consist of do + not, but was simply an allomorph of no which was also kept external to the verb: I don't hear, He don't like it, I don't can explain. In the third stage, auxiliary + negative (aux-neg.), the subjects learned to place the negative particle after the auxiliary. In general, the first auxiliaries to be negated in this way were is (isn't) and can (can't). In the final stage (analyzed don't), the learners acquired the analyzed forms of don't (do not, doesn't, does not, didn't, did not): It doesn't spin, Because you didn't bring, He doesn't laugh like us. At this point don't was no longer negative chunk, but actually consisted of do plus the negative particle. The stages in this sequence were not discrete and there was a good deal of overlap among them. Each stage was defined by the negating strategy that was used predominately at that time.

The analysis of the acquisition of wh- question revealed a developmental pattern which consisted of two stages (undifferentiation and differentiation). The first stage involved three periods (uninverted, variable inversion and generalization). This developmental sequence is summarized below:

Stage I - Undifferentiation: Learner did not distinguish between simple and embedded wh- questions.

a. uninverted: Both simple and embedded wh- questions were uninverted.
   simple: What you study?
   embedded: That's what I do with my pillow.
b. variable inversion: Simple wh- questions were sometimes inverted, sometimes not.
   inverted: How can you say it?
   uninverted: Where you get that?
c. generalization: increasing inversion in wh- questions with inversion being extended to embedded questions.
   simple: How can I kiss her if I don't even know her name?
   embedded: I know where are you going.

Stage II - Differentiation: Learner distinguished between simple and embedded wh- questions.

   simple: Where do you live?
   embedded: I don't know what he had.

(from Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, 1975, p. 38).

In the analysis of the acquisition of auxiliaries we found that is (cop) was acquired first by all the subjects and that generally do and can followed shortly afterwards. The other auxiliaries appeared in a highly variable order.

2. Alberto's development. As mentioned above, one of the adult subjects, Alberto, showed very little linguistic development during the course of the study. Whereas four stages were found in the acquisition of the English negative (no V, don't V, aux-neg, analyzed don't); throughout the study Alberto remained in the first stage. Two stages were found in the acquisition of English wh- questions (undifferentiation and differentiation); throughout the study Alberto remained in the first period of the first stage. In addition, in yes/no-questions he inverted considerably less frequently than the other subjects. The four inflectional morphemes (possessive, past tense, plural and progressive) which were studied showed little or no growth over time. In terms of auxiliary development, am (cop), can and are (cop) could be classified as appearing in his speech (i.e., they were supplied 80% of the time in three consecutive samples), but only is (cop) approaches the criterion for acquisition (correctly supplied in 90% of obligatory contexts for three successive samples). In general then Alberto can be characterized as using a reduced and simplified form of English:

a. in which the negative particle remains external to the verb and is not placed after the first auxiliary element as required in well-formed English;
b. in which inversion is virtually absent in questions;
c. in which no auxiliaries [except possibly is (cop)] can be said to be acquired, and using a less stringent criterion only four auxiliaries [is (cop), am (cop), can and are (cop)] can be said to have appeared;
d. in which the possessive tends to be unmarked;
e. in which the regular past tense ending (ed) is virtually absent;

f. in which positive transfer from Spanish can account for the plural inflection being supplied 85% of the time, for is (cop)'s being correctly supplied to a greater extent than other auxiliaries and for am (cop), are (cop), and can reaching criterion for appearance;
g. and in which the progressive morpheme (-ing) is supplied only about 60% of the time.

3. Reasons for Alberto's development. Now the question becomes what accounts for the lack of development in Alberto's speech. Three explanations are considered: ability, age and social and psychological distance from speakers of the target language.

3.1 Ability. Performance on a Piagetian test of adaptive intelligence (Feldman, et al, 1974) indicated that Alberto had no gross cognitive deficits that would have prevented him from acquiring English more fully. Therefore, lack of ability does not seem adequate to explain his acquisition pattern.

3.2 Age. It was once thought that the completion of cortical lateralization at puberty was the cause of adult difficulties in acquiring second languages. However, Krashen (1973) has demonstrated that the lateralization process which gradually locates language functions in the left hemisphere of the brain is completed by the age of five. Therefore, since we know that six, seven and eight year olds learn second languages without great difficulty, we are left with no age related biological or neurological explanation for Alberto's lack of development in English.

3.3 Pidginization.[1] Alberto's essentially reduced and simplified English contains several features that are characteristic of pidgin languages. A pidgin language is a simplified and reduced form of speech used for communication between people with different languages. The grammatical structure of pidgins is characterized by a lack of inflectional morphology and a tendency to eliminate grammatical transformations. Alberto's English shared the following features with other pidgin languages:

a. He used the uniform negative "no" for most of his negative utterances as in American Indian Pidgin English (AIPE) (Leachman and Hall, 1955) and English Worker Pidgin (EWP) (Clyne, 1975).
b. He did not invert in questions as in Neo-Melanesian Pidgin (N-MP) (Smith, 1972) and EWP.
c. He lacked auxiliaries as in EWP.
d. He tended not to inflect for the poassessive as in AIPE.
e. He used the unmarked form of the verb as in English-Japanese Pidgin (E-JP) (Goodman, 1967), AIPE and EWP.
f. He deleted subject pronouns as in EWP.

Since Alberto's English appears to be pidginized, we want to answer the question, "What causes pidginization?". The answer lies in the functions which a pidginized language serves. Smith (1972) sees language as having three general functions: communicative, integrative and expressive. The communicative function operates in the transmission of referential, denotative information between persons. The integrative function is engaged when a speaker acquires languages to the extent that it marks him as a member of a particular social group. That is, his speech contains those features (such as correct noun and

verb inflections, inversion in questions, and correct placement of the negative particle) that are unnecessary for simple referential communication, but which are necessary in order to sound like a member of the group whose language contains these features. The expressive function goes beyond the integrative in that through it, the speaker becomes a valued member of a particular linguistic group. In other words, he displays linguistic virtuosity or skill such that he becomes an admired member of the community. Examples of such people are storytellers (especially in non-literate societies), comedians, orators, poets, etc. Since many native speakers do not command the expressive functions of their language, in order to be considered a fluent speaker of a language, one need only master the communicative and integrative functions. According to Smith, pidgin languages are generally restricted to the first function--communication. That is, their purpose is merely to convey denotative, referential information. Since pidgins are always second languages, the integrative and expressive functions are maintained by the speakers' native languages. As a result of this functional restriction, pidginization produces an interlanguage which is simplified and reduced.

The next question to be answered then is, "What causes restriction in function?" Martin Joos (1971) suggests that "the skeletonizing/skeletonized pattern of pidgin-information... emerges automatically from lack of actual/prospective social solidarity between speaker and addressee" (p. 137) (emphasis mine). To this I would also add the lack of actual or prospective psychological solidarity between the two parties. If we turn this formulation around, restriction in function can be seen as resulting from social and/or psychological distance between the speaker and addressee. Placing this notion within the framework of second language acquisition, we would argue that the speech of the second language learner will be restricted to the communicative function if the learner is socially and/or psychologically distant from the speakers of the target language. The extent and persistence of the pidginized forms in the second language learner's speech will result automatically then from this restriction in function.

Social distance pertains to the individual as a member of a social group which is in contact with another social group whose members speak a different language. Hence social distance involves such sociological factors as domination versus subordination, assimilation versus acculturation versus preservation, enclosure, size, congruence and attitude. Psychological distance pertains to the individual as an individual, and involves such psychological factors as resolution of language shock, culture shock and culture stress, integrative versus instrumental motivation and ego-permeability. In the following two sections each form of distance will be discussed.

3.3.1 Social distance.[2] The following notions about social distance (Schumann, in press) evolve from the literature on bilingualism, second language acquisition, sociolinguistics and ethnic relations. They represent societal factors that either promote or inhibit social solidarity between two groups and thus affect the way a second language learning group (2LL group) acquires the language of a particular target language group (TL group). The assumption is that the greater the social distance between the two groups the more difficult it is for the members of the 2LL group to acquire the language of the TL group. The following issues are involved in social distance: In relation to the TL group is the 2LL group politically, culturally, technically

or economically dominant, non-dominant, or subordinate? Is the integration pattern of the 2LL group assimilation, acculturation, or preservation? What is the 2LL group's degree of enclosure? Is the 2LL group cohesive? What is the size of the 2LL group? Are the cultures of the two groups congruent? What are the attitudes of the two groups toward each other? What is the 2LL group's intended length of residence in the target language area? The above terms are defined as follows:

1. Dominant - 2LL group is politically, culturally, technically or economically superior to the TL group.
2. Non-dominant - 2LL group is politically, culturally, technically and economically equal to the TL group.
3. Subordinate - 2LL group is politically, culturally, technically and economically inferior to the TL group.
4. Assimilation - 2LL group gives up its own life style and values and adopts those of the TL group.
5. Acculturation - 2LL group adapts to the life style and values of the TL group, but at the same time maintains its own cultural patterns for use in intra-group relations.
6. Preservation - 2LL group rejects the life style and values of the TL group and attempts to maintain its own cultural pattern as much as possible.
7. Enclosure - The degree to which the two groups have separate schools, churches, clubs, recreational facilities, professions, crafts, trades, etc.
8. Cohesiveness - The degree to which members of the 2LL group live, work and socialize together.
9. Size - How large the 2LL group is.
10. Congruence - The degree to which the cultures of the two groups are similar.
11. Attitude - Ethnic stereotypes by which the two groups either positively or negatively value each other.
12. Intended length of residence - How long the 2LL group intends to remain in the TL area.

It is argued that social distance and hence a bad language learning situation (see columns A and B in Table 1) will obtain where the 2LL group is either dominant or subordinate, where both groups desire preservation and high enclosure for the 2LL group, where the 2LL group is both cohesive and large, where the two cultures are not congruent, where the two groups hold negative attitudes toward each other and where the 2LL group intends to remain in the target language area only for a short time. It is also argued that social solidarity and hence a good language learning situation (see column C in Table 1) will obtain where the 2LL group is non-dominant in relation to the TL group, where both groups desire assimilation for the 2LL group, where low enclosure is the goal of both groups, where the two cultures are congruent, where the 2LL group is small and non-cohesive, where both groups have positive attitudes toward each other, and where the 2LL group intends to remain in the target language area for a long time.

In comparing Alberto's social distance from Americans with that of the other subjects in the Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann's (1975) study, Alberto can be regarded as belonging to a social group designated as lower

			A	B	C		D	E
			Bad language learning Situation I	Bad language learning Situation II	Good language learning Situation		Latin American Workers	Latin American Professionals
political economic technical cultural		TLgp views 2LLgp						
		dominant	*					
		-dominant subordinate		✓	X		✓	X
		2LLgp views itself						
		dominant	*					
		-dominant subordinate		✓	X		✓	X
	culture	TLgp desires of 2LLgp						
		assimilation			X			
		acculturation						X
		preservation	*	✓			✓	
		2LLgp desires for itself						
		assimilation			X			
		acculturation						X
		preservation	*	✓			✓	
	structure	TLgp desires for 2LLgp						
		high enclosure	*	✓				
		moderate enclosure					✓	
		low enclosure			X			X
		2LLgp desires for itself						
		high enclosure	*	✓				
		moderate enclosure					✓	
		low enclosure			X			X

Table 1

Analysis of social distance characteristics
for good and bad language learning situations
and for worker vs. professional immigrants from Latin America to the United States
(Corresponding ✓'s and X's indicate similarity of situations)

	A	B	C		D	E
	Bad language learning Situation I	Bad language learning Situation II	Good language learning Situation		Latin American Workers	Latin American Professionals
2LLgp's cohesiveness						
cohesive	*	✓			✓	
-cohesive			X			X
Size of 2LLgp						
large	*	✓			✓	
small			X			X
Culture of 2LLgp						
congruent with TLgp			X		✓↓	X
-congruent with TLgp	*	✓				
attitudes: TLgp's attitude towards 2LLgp						
positive			X			
negative	*	✓				
attitudes: 2LLgp's attitude towards TLgp						
positive			X			
negative	*	✓				
2LLgp's intended length of residence in TL area						
short	*	✓				X
long			X			
Social distance						
great	*	✓			✓	
little			X			X

Table 1 (continued)
Analysis of social distance characteristics
for good and bad language learning situations
and for worker vs. professional immigrants from Latin America to the United States
(Corresponding ✓'s and X's indicate similarity of situations)

class Latin American worker immigrants, and the other four subjects can be classified as children of upper-middle class Latin American professional immigrants. There was insufficient background on the second adult subject to include her in this classification.

Latin American worker immigrants (see column D in Table 1) are subordinate in relation to Americans since they represent an unskilled labor group whose modal socio-economic status is lower than that of Americans in general. This view is probably shared by both the worker immigrants and the Americans. The worker immigrants probably fall somewhere between preservation and acculturation with regard to their desired integration into American society. American society in general expects them to assimilate as it does all immigrants, but it does not necessarily make that assimilation easy. In terms of enclosure the Latin American workers have access to American institutions, but generally live in immigrant neighborhoods where they share schools, churches and associations with other immigrants having the same socio-economic status and usually having the same language and culture. This enclosure by neighborhood fosters cohesiveness, particularly in Alberto's case where Costa Rican immigrants are a small minority within a Portuguese minority area. The culture of the Latin American worker immigrants is relatively congruent to that of the Americans (both being Western and Christian), but since the Latin American workers may represent the "culture of poverty" more than does the modal American culture, there may also be an element of incongruence between the two cultures (indicated by the arrow, ↓, in Table 1). The attitudes of the two groups toward each other would have to be measured before accurate judgments could be made. It is also difficult to assess the intended length of stay in the United States by Latin American workers.

Upper-middle class Latin American professional immigrants (see column E in Table 1) are probably viewed by Americans and also view themselves as non-dominant in relation to the English-speaking TL group because their educational background and socio-economic status more closely match that of Americans in general (particularly in the Boston/Cambridge area). The Latin American professionals are solidly acculturative in their integration pattern. They have to be able to demonstrate culturally appropriate behavior in their relationships with American colleagues and therefore must adapt to American life styles and values. But since their length of residence in the United States is often confined to a period of postgraduate education, they generally do not choose to assimilate. The professionals are generally integrated into the university and professional communities and do not live in immigrant neighborhoods. Therefore, their enclosure is low and they are less cohesive than the worker immigrants. The size of the professional group is likely to be smaller than that of workers, and the congruity of the two cultures is relatively high. Once again attitudinal orientations would have to be empirically assessed in order to be correctly classified.

When both profiles are considered we find that the Latin American worker immigrant group is at a considerably greater social distance from Americans than are the professionals. Thus, we would expect the workers' use of English to be functionally restricted and to pidginize. This is precisely what we find in Alberto.

3.3.2 Psychological distance.[3] As the classification of the 2LL group in either the good or bad language learning situations becomes less determinant (i.e., if a group stands somewhere between the bad and good situations), then

success in acquiring the target language becomes more a matter of the individual as an individual rather than of the individual as member of a particular social group. In addition, in either a good or a bad language learning situation, an individual can violate the modal tendency of his group. Thus, an individual might learn the target language where he is expected not to, and not learn the language where successful acquisition is expected. In these cases it is psychological distance (Schumann, 1975b) or proximity between the learner and the TL group that accounts for successful versus unsuccessful second language acquisition. The factors which create psychological distance between the learner and speakers of the target language are affective in nature and involve such issues as the resolution of language shock and culture shock, motivation and ego permeability.

In experiencing language shock (Stengal, 1939), the learner is haunted by doubts as to whether his words accurately reflect his ideas. In addition, he is sometimes confronted with target language words and expressions which carry with them images and meanings which he interprets differently than do native speakers of the target language. Also, the narcissistic gratification to which the learner is accustomed in the use of his native language is lost when he attempts to speak the target language. Finally, when speaking the second language the learner has apprehensions about appearing comic, child-like and dependent.

The learner experiences culture shock (Smalley, 1963; Larsen and Smalley, 1972) when he finds that his problem-solving and coping mechanisms do not work in the new culture. When they are used they do not get the accustomed results. Consequently, activities which were routine in his native country require great energy in the new culture. This situation causes disorientation, stress, fear and anxiety. The resultant mental state can produce a whole syndrome of rejection which diverts attention and energy from second language learning. The learner, in attempting to find a cause for his disorientation, may reject himself, the people of the host country, the organization for which he is working, and even his own culture.

Motivation (Gardner and Lambert, 1972) relates to the goals of second language learning. In terms of psychological distance, the integratively motivated learner would seek maximum proximity in order to meet, talk with, and perhaps even become like the speakers of the target language. An instrumentally motivated learner would achieve a level of psychological solidarity that would only be commensurate with his instrumental goals. Consequently, if the learner's goal were mere survival, he might maintain a good deal of psychological distance between himself and the speakers of the target language.

Another source of psychological distance may be the relative rigidity of the learner's ego boundaries (Guiora, 1972). Some experimental evidence indicates that people who have ego permeability, i.e., the ability to partially and temporarily give up their separateness of identity, are better second language learners. This essentially psychoanalytic concept is intuitively appealing and provides another perspective from which the concept of psychological distance can be understood.

In sum then, factors causing psychological distance, like those causing social distance, put the learner in a situation where he is largely cut off from

target language input and/or does not attend to it when it is available. The language which is acquired under these conditions will be used simply for denotative referential communication in situations where contact with speakers of the target language is either absolutely necessary or unavoidable. The learner's psychological distance will prevent him from identifying with the speakers of the target language such that he will not attempt to incorporate into his speech those linguistic features that would help to identify him as a member of the TL group. Hence, his use of the target language will be functionally restricted and, therefore, we would expect it to pidginize.

In order to get some assessment of Alberto's psychological distance from English speakers, at the end of the study, he was asked to fill out a short questionnaire which elicited information concerning his attitude and motivation. In terms of this questionnaire, he seemed to have a positive attitude and good motivation, and hence little psychological distance. However, there is some question as to whether he was entirely candid in his answers. Alberto tended not to like to displease and therefore his answers may reflect what he thought the experimenter wanted to hear.

There are several aspects of Alberto's life-style that appear to contradict the positive attitude and motivation expressed in the questionnaire. First of all, he made very little effort to get to know English-speaking people. In Cambridge he stuck quite close to a small group of Spanish-speaking friends. He did not own a television and expressed disinterest in it because he could not understand English. On the other hand, he purchased an expensive stereo set and tape deck on which he played mostly Spanish music. Also, he chose to work at night (as well as in the day) rather than attend English classes which were available in Cambridge.

The other subjects were not given the attitude and motivation questionnaire, but in general they seemed to be psychologically much closer to Americans. All the children attended American schools and had American friends. The second adult baby-sat for American children, studied English on her own and tried to get to know and speak with Americans.

3.4 The effect of instruction. From the point of view of the pidginization hypothesis we would argue that Alberto did not seek out instruction in English because his pidginized speech was adequate for his needs. Nevertheless, it might be argued that with instruction his simplified linguistic system might have reorganized and come to conform more closely with the target language. The opportunity to test this idea presented itself after the study was completed. At the end of the ten-month project, twenty, one-hour speech samples had been collected. As mentioned earlier, throughout this period Alberto had maintained essentially a no V negation system.

The experimenter than undertook to teach him how to negate in English to see if this intervention would cause him to alter his pidginized system of negation. Extensive instruction was provided during the collection of speech sample 21 and then intermittently in samples 22 through 32. This program covered a seven-month period. At the same time in samples 22-30 Alberto was given extensive sets of positive sentences which he was asked to negate. These elicited negatives were then compared with the negative utterances in his spontaneous speech. In elicited speech after instruction, Alberto's negatives were about

64% (216/335) correct. His spontaneous negatives, however, were only about 20% (58/278) correct, i.e., 278 no V utterances (incorrect) and 58 don't V utterances (correct). The latter are correct only by coincidence simply because don't, as an allomorph of no, was occasionally used in the appropriate linguistic environment. Therefore, we see that instruction influenced only Alberto's production in a test-like, highly monitored situation; it did not affect his spontaneous speech which he used for normal communication. This result is even more striking when we compare it with spontaneous and elicited negatives prior to insturction. In samples 16-20, Alberto's spontaneous negatives were 22% (33/105) correct and his elicited negatives were 10% (7/71) correct. This indicates that instruction has radically improved his performance in an artificial, highly monitored elicitation task, but that it had virtually no effect on his spontaneous speech which he uses in normal communication with native speakers of English. Hence we can conclude that instruction is evidently not powerful enough to overcome the pidginization engendered by social and psychological distance.

4.0 Cognitive processes in pidginization. The social and psychological forces that cause the persistence of pidginization in a second language learner's speech have been discussed. The term "persistence" is used because, as predicted in Schumann (1974 a and b), pidginization appears to be characteristic of early second language acquisition in general. What has been described pidginization in Alberto's speech corresponds to the early stages of the acquisition of English by all six learners. Alberto remained in stage one of negation (the no V stage) and in stage one, period a of interrogation (universion in both simple and embedded wh- questions). Since it is reasonable to assume that, as with Alberto, inflectional marking tended to be absent in the early speech of the other five subjects (this was not specifically examined in Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, 1975), evidence exists that pidginization may characterize all early second language acquisition and that under conditions of social and psychological distance it persists. Since pidginization may be a universal first stage in second language acquisition, it is important to explore what cognitive processes either cause or allow the pidginization to occur.

Kay and Sankoff (1974) believe that contact vernaculars such as pidgins and other varieties of incomplete competence such as child language, second language acquisition, bilingualism and aphasia are all potential areas for examining linguistic universals. Referring to contact vernaculars in particular they state that "since the communicative functions fulfilled by contact vernaculars are minimal, these languages may possibly reveal in a more direct way than do most natural languages the universal cognitive structure and process that underlie all human language ability and use." (p. 62).

Smith (1973) notes that the early speech of children is largely unmarked (hence the term telegraphic speech) and that in the process of socialization the child learns to mark his language with those features which characterize his speech community. The result of this development is that adult speech is naturally and normally marked (p. 3). However, pidgin languages which are spoken by adults are characteristically unmarked. Smith attempts to account for the fact that pidginization produces a generally unmarked language by viewing unmarking and marking as part of the same process. The child at one point in his development has had the ability to unmark. Smith speculates that this ability is not lost and can be retrieved under certain social conditions. One of these conditions is the pidginogenic social context where the function of the language is

restricted to communication of denotative referential information. Both the child in early native language acquisition and the pidgin speaker reduce and simplify the language to which they are exposed into a set of primitive categories which undoubtedly are innate (p. 11). These primitive categories emerge in speech as utterances relatively unmarked by inflections, permutations and functors. Within this framework unmarking is not seen as a deficiency, but as a positive cognitive strategy to which a language learner turns at certain developmental stages and under certain social conditions.

Corder (1975) maintains a similar position, but argues that 'simple codes' spoken by children, neophyte second language learners, pidgin speakers, and adults using baby-talk or foreigner talk are not 'simplified', i.e., they are not reductions of a more complicated and expanded code. Instead they represent a basic language which, in the process of learning, is expanded and complicated. Following Kay and Sankoff (1972), Corder suggests that simple codes "are 'nearer', in some sense, to the underlying structure or 'inner form' of all languages, i.e., more overtly reflect semantic categories and relations." (p. 4). He goes on to speculate that this basic language, and all intermediate linguistic systems between basic and complex, once learned are never obliterated. These approximative systems remain "available both for special communicative functions in the mother tongue [baby talk, foreigner talk] and as an 'initial hypothesis' in the learning of second languages" (p. 9).

Within this framework, pidginization in second language acquisition can be viewed as initially resulting from cognitive constraints and then persisting due to social and psychological constraints. Hence, early second language acquisition would be characterized by the temporary use of a non-marked, simple code resembling a pidgin. This code would be the product of cognitive constraints engendered by lack of knowledge of the target language. The code may reflect a regression to a set of universal primitive linguistic categories that were realized in early first language acquisition. Then, under conditions of social and/or psychological distance, this pidginized form of speech would persist.

5. Conclusion. The pidginization hypothesis predicts that where social and psychological distance prevail we will find pidginization persisting in the speech of second language learners. There are several experimental and several clinical studies that could be undertaken to further explore this hypothesis. In order to experimentally test the social distance aspect of the hypothesis, one might choose a population of worker immigrants in the United States and compare its success in the acquisition of English to the success in the acquisition of English experienced by a group of professional immigrants. To experimentally test the psychological distance aspect of the hypothesis one could make an intensive examination (using questionnaires, interviews, etc.) of those worker immigrants who do successfully learn English and the professional immigrants who fail to learn it.

To clinically examine social distance phenomena, a questionnaire might be developed which would be filled out by experimenters doing research in second language acquisition. In it they would attempt to classify the subjects with whom they were working (either groups or individuals) on social distance dimensions. The questionnaire would be designed to permit the researcher to rate a particular 2LL group's dominance, cohesiveness, enclosure, etc., on a numerical

scale, to compute a social distance score for the group and then to relate that score to the extent of pidginization found in his subject(s)' speech.

Psychological distance might receive clinical examination by studying a small group of subjects (six to ten) who will be living in a foreign language environment for a fairly long period of time. The subjects might be a group of Peace Corps Volunteers or foreign service personnel who have a good opportunity to become bilingual as a result of training in and exposure to the target language. At the beginning of the study the subjects would be assessed on as many relevant variables as possible, including: language learning aptitude, attitude, motivation, ego-permeability (assuming a valid measure is available), experiences in learning other second languages and general social adjustment. The subjects would be asked to keep diaries in which they would describe daily exposure to the target language, efforts to learn the language, and feelings about language learning and the new culture. In addition, the subjects would be interviewed once every two weeks in order that the researchers could probe the same issues verbally. Finally the subjects' achievement in the second language would be tested monthly by means of an oral interview which could then be analyzed for aspects of pidginization. The object of this approach would be to develop several case studies in which an individual's pattern of second language acquisition could be related longitudinally to factors involving his psychological distance from speakers of the target language.

Such research strategies could shed light on the interaction between the phenomena of social and psychological distance; uncover new factors contributing to both phenomena and perhaps indicate ways in which social and psychological distance can be overcome and thus free those affected to become bilingual.

Finally, by studying the second language speech of learners affected by social and/or psychological distance in a variety of contact situations (e.g., Chinese-English, English-Persian, Italian-French, etc.) a further contribution could be made to our knowledge of the linguistic aspects of pidginization and the processes of simplification and reduction in natural languages in general.

Footnotes

1. The type of pidginization referred to here is secondary hybridization, not tertiary hybridization. The position taken in this paper is that secondary hybridization is legitimate pidginization. For a discussion of this issue see Whinnom (1971).
2. For a detailed discussion of social distance see Schumann (in press).
3. For a detailed discussion of the factors involved in psychological distance see Schumann (1975b).

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ENGLISH TEACHING IN JAPAN

Kiyoshi Tajima

I. A brief history

At the beginning of the 19th century the Tokugawa Shogunate was compelled to replace Dutch with English as its language of diplomacy to deal with the international affairs paramount at that time. And in another half century the government was obliged to bring to an end its two-hundred-year-old seclusion policy by the pressure of the "barbarous" English speaking nations with highly developed civilization behind them. English has been a foreign language of prime importance to Japan since that time.

In the Meiji era that came right after she opened her door to the outside world, Japan had a real encounter with Western civilizations. The government which came to be aware of the urgent necessity of modernizing Japan to catch up with the Western civilized countries began to make a great deal of effort in introducing Western, especially British civilization and culture through English. The English language was an indispensable tool for that purpose and soon became a required subject of study in secondary schools and higher institutions of education. To say nothing of those few people who were really concerned about the future of Japan, most students of English in the early days of the Meiji era were well-motivated to learn English and to assimilate themselves to English culture because it was more than merely foreign culture to them; it was a revelation. They were convinced that "they had everything to learn from the West." (Brownell, 1965, p. 41) The modern mind of the Japanese people can be said to have been developed through English around this time.

Even under these circumstances, however, English never had the status of a second language except in some institutions of higher education for a short period when mathematics, history, geography, and other subjects were taught in English and where admission was limited to a small number of select students.

The spirit of Western culture and civilization, especially of Britain, was the supreme aim of Japanese learning English. English gentlemanship, for instance, was an ideal character with the highest morality much admired by students of English. English literature could not fail to affect its Japanese counterpart. The birth of modern Japanese literature could not have occured without the English literature, which has been continuously appearing up until today both in the original and in an enormous number of Japanese translations since the Meiji period.

As the foundation of the modern state of Japan became solid and the degree of dependence upon English in teaching various subjects at school became far less, the Japanese language taking its place, the seriousness of students toward learning English declined and the inefficiency of teaching English followed as a natural consequence. This inefficiency in English teaching even gave rise to suggestions that English teaching in secondary schools should be abolished.

And also there arose a controversy whether English should be taught for a practical purpose or a cultural purpose (or value), and this is still a live issue in the field of English teaching in Japan.

To improve this situation the Japanese government hired British and American teachers and assigned at least one teacher to each secondary school during the Taisho era. Harold E. Palmer, a British linguist, came to Japan and advocated an oral method in the teaching of English during his stay until 1936. However, the soil of Japan was not well suited to bearing fruits worthy of his great efforts.

Far from improving English teaching began to take an unfavorable turn. A chauvinistic nationalism in Japan which had been gradually gaining strength was leading the way to war with Western powers. And the Japanese military forces ventured recklessly into war with them with modern weaponry which they produced with the Western know-how they had learned from the powers through English. English soon became the language of their enemies.

During the war the attitude of Japanese people in general toward English was negative and they hated it as their enemies' language. The government banned the teaching of English in girls' secondary schools, where it had been a required subject as in boys' secondary schools. The Japanese Imperial Army went so far as to prohibit the use of English loan words in their life and attempted to replace them by their Japanese translations, e.g. "ink by "blue water" (They seem to have had only one color of ink.) On the other hand, the Japanese Imperial Navy were wise enough to teach English in the Naval Academy even during wartime.

There is little to say about English teaching during the war, but we would like to point out one difference between Japanese Americans in their attitude toward their enemies' language. Japanese rejected the knowledge of English which might be useful in defeating their enemies, whereas Americans thought it necessary to acquire it to defeat their enemy.

After World War II, there came to Japan a flood of American people, most of whom may have been military personnel and their families, and it was not rare to see a few Americans even in remote corners of the country. Boys and girls must have been very excited when they could use for the first time English that they learned at school, in talking to a native speaker of English if it was only "Hello!". And in general the enthusiasm of Japanese people over learning English was unprecedentedly strong. The situation is clearly told by the fact that a handbook of English-Japanese conversation published on paper of very poor quality during this time became one of the best-sellers.

As soon as Japan recovered from the ashes of the war, English teaching at school came to life, especially with the introduction of the Oral Approach into classrooms. A lot of seminars and lectures on linguistics and teaching methods were given to English teachers in secondary schools by Japanese and American linguists and educationists. Developing the audio-lingual skills of learners of English was the prime objective of almost all teachers of English, especially at the junior high school level. The Pattern-practice Method soon prevailed throughout the country. The Oral Approach seemed to teachers to be the only reliable 'scientific' method, though it was not the first to emphasize the

importance of the mastery of oral skills in the initial stages of language learning. It is needless to say that English teachers devoted themselves to teaching English with a great pride in their profession. In colleges and universities departments of English and/or American language and literature sprang up like mushrooms after rain. On the streets, too, there appeared a lot of language schools here and there. English enjoyed its greatest popularity

In spite of the earnestness of English teachers in teaching and the favorable circumstances surrounding English teaching at school, the first word people utter in talking about English teaching in Japan has been its 'inefficiency.' Even such an unusual enthusiasm over learning English among Japanese in general could not be effective enough for English teaching to be efficient.

In 1955, ten years after the war, a certain critic asserted that compulsory English teaching in secondary schools should be abolished because there were a lot of boys and girls who could not read even those English words printed on canned foods after studying English for so many years in secondary schools and because many high-school graduates, especially those who would be engaged in farming staying in their home villages, would have very little chance of using English in their future career. The situation has worsened rather than improved today, when more than 95% of the children who finish compulsory junior high school education go on to senior high school and there are quite a few students there who find it extremely difficult to keep up with studying not only English but other subjects as well.

In another ten years the English-teaching business in Japan suffered another attack from a different source, but this time it was not voices raised against the compulsory teaching of English but a strong demand for the teaching of more practically useful English, especially at the college level. In accordance with the miraculous development of the Japanese economy toward 1965 the business circles came to be aware that the knowledge of English of college graduates was not satisfactory enough to meet the needs of the business world and strongly urged that more practically useful English be taught in schools. This caused a lot of arguments for or against the teaching of English solely for practical purposes in schools.

For these reasons it would not be completely useless to consider why teaching English in Japan is so inefficient.

II. Reasons for the inefficiency of English teaching in Japan.

How much instruction in English in terms of class hours do students receive from junior high school through college?

In the junior high school students study English at least three hours a week for 35 weeks a year for a total of 315 hours during the three years of junior high school.

In the senior high school students study English 5 hours a week on an average for 35 weeks a year for a total of 525 hours during the three years of senior high school.

At the college level students are required to study English 4 hours a week for 30 weeks a year for a total of 240 hours during the first two years in college.

In spite of the great amount of time and energy the students spend on learning English, only a very few students acquire a good command of English for communicating either orally or in writing. So critical people say that the teaching of English is a waste of time and energy, and it will be only natural that those people who give the top priority to the utilitarian purpose of English teaching should think that way. Even in foreign countries Japanese people have often been called poor linguists.

Although studying, especially studying a language, little by little dispersedly over a long period will not produce the same results as studying it intensively for an equal amount of time, there may be other factors peculiar to Japanese learners of English and their environment that cause this inefficiency of English teaching.

Before we consider those factors, we would like to remind you that when we talk about the inefficiency of English teaching we are usually referring to that of developing the aural-oral skills in English.

A. External factors:

a. The first one everybody is quick to point out is the entrance examinations for senior high schools, colleges, and universities, since they prescribe the nature of what to teach at the respective lower level of school. While the examinations for senior high school have been improved, though not satisfactorily, so as to test the achievement in all the four skills of English, those for colleges and universities are mostly inappropriate in that test questions are too difficult to test a knowledge of English required of would-be college students. And only a very few colleges and universities give a test of oral skills, possibly because there may be physical difficulties in conducting the test of oral skills since there are a huge number of applicants for admission to colleges and universities, which require the applicants to take the English test almost without exception.

This leads English teaching in high schools away in an undesirable direction. High-school teachers and students concentrate on translation exercises from English to Japanese or vice versa and on memorizing grammatical rules. That is a kind of mental gymnastics for students, like math. Therefore, some people regard the college entrance examinations as the worst evil hindering the proper development of English teaching in high schools.

Then, what is the purpose of testing a knowledge of English in the entrance examination to colleges or universities? The most plausible answer to this question may be that students will be unable to engage in the studies in their major field in universities without English abilities above a certain level. Why then do those students have to take an English test whose major does not require a practical knowledge of English of them, such as students majoring in the arts, Japanese history, Japanese literature(?), etc.? In addition, what is strange is that test questions are prepared by professors of English whose major is English and/or American Language and Literature without consulting the professors of other disciplines about their suitability. This makes the tests needlessly difficult since the professors of English are ignorant of other academic fields and tend to measure the students' abilities in English by their own standard. They turn a deaf ear to the voices of high-school teachers, too, far from consulting them. They are not familiar with the teaching

of English in high schools, nor are they willing to be. They do not have even a superficial knowledge of testing.

As a matter of fact the college entrance examination is nothing but one for singling our applicants above a certain level at present which is far away from the proper objective of an examination. And, what is worse, it is a test of single round. Though an examination for selection may not be inherently wrong, priority should be given to testing students' achievements in learning English in high school, and for that purpose it is very important and will be very fruitful to ask for the cooperation of high-school teachers of English in preparing test questions. However, this is almost impossible so long as each college or university gives its own test in English.

A gleam of hope in the present dark situation regarding the entrance examination is that The Association of National Universities, though a little too late, has started to prepare unified test questions to be used in the entrance examinations to the national universities from 1977 on.

b. The number of class hours:

Although the total number of class hours, as we mentioned above, does not seem to be small, the standard number of three hours a week in the junior high school is, at any rate, too small, especially in the environments where students have few opportunities outside classrooms to use what they learn in classrooms. What can they do with this small number of class hours? Something may be better than nothing. Is it better for them to talk about English language and culture in English classes? The reduction of the class hours to three is contradictory to the Course of Study, in which the developing of oral communicative skills is emphasized.

This brings about a heavy concentration on teaching English intellectually in each class, and students are required to take part in that intellectual work without any application exercises in communicative situations in the same way as they study mathematics. This situation is worse in senior high schools than in junior high schools, though the former have more class hours, because the pressure of the university entrance examination is greater there than in junior high schools.

Why then does the entrance examination to colleges or universities affect the education in senior high schools so much? Because Japan is still a school-career-oriented society and being a college graduate is the key to success in life. A great many high-school graduates apply for colleges or universities, and the competition is so keen that teachers as well as students make a strenuous effort to get the passport to them.

c. Teaching methods:

A method of instruction is one of the most important factors that determine the results of the instruction. This is especially true of foreign-language teaching. The lack of proficiency of Japanese people in the use of English can be ascribed to poor methods of teaching English at school due to English teachers' inproficiency in oral abilities. Most English teachers will admit it. However, in the initial stages of English teaching at the junior-high-school level, teachers give more time and attention to developing oral abilities in English

in the hope of building up a solid foundation for developing other skills in English.

In senior high schools reading, grammar, and a small amount of writing take up the greater part of the lesson. The reading done there is mostly translation work with grammatical explanations rather than reading in the true sense of the word. Oral practice is the last thing they pay attention to.

In colleges and universities the situation is never better than in senior high schools. It is even worse. Here, too, translating English novels or literary essays is the most common activity in English classes, and the least attention is paid to practicing the oral skills. English is being taught as if it were a classical language. The grammar-translation type of method is the easiest way for most teachers. What causes this unbalanced way of teaching English?

Unlike university professors who can be indifferent to how to teach or rather contemptuous of oral proficiency, we do not think that Japanese high-school teachers are particularly idle or easy-going. On the contrary, they are very much devoted to teaching and always willing to employ any new effective method of teaching English. We believe that they are not in the least inferior to those of other subjects. But alas, they also are not exceptions in being poor linguists! They teach in the same way they were taught at school. Most of them learned English by the grammar-translation method without any experience in using English in classrooms as well as outside. Their lack of oral proficiency is a natural result of the education they received. Then we have to consider the problem of teacher training to improve the situation.

d. Teacher training:

Today most young English teachers in junior high schools are graduates from the Section of English in the Department of Education or from the Department of English and/or American Language and Literature in universities or colleges (including junior colleges) where professors whose major is English or American literature or linguistics teach whatever they like in their own way, not necessarily to the benefit of their students who are going to be secondary-school teachers. It is only natural for academism to be made much of among such people. A glance at the curriculum given in the Section of English will show you that most of the classes there are lectures and seminars about English and American literature and linguistics. Even reading English texts is given only a small part of the curriculum. And also classes are conducted in Japanese, which in itself might not be wrong. Most of the students in such a section or department, however, do not have a knowledge of English good enough to appreciate literature or study linguistics, and they are never going to be experts in literature or linguistics. Even in the highly abstract way of dealing with languages used by generative grammarians, one of the aims of describing the languages is to explain native speakers' intuitions about the grammaticality of utterances. Isn't it impossible to recognize subtle differences in the grammaticality of sentences unless we have a fairly good knowledge of English? To say nothing of appreciating or criticizing literary works in English.

Under these circumstances the students are also inclined to study English literature or linguistics in preference to developing an essential command of

English that will be required of the teachers of English in junior and senior high schools. Like breeds like. Only those exceptional students who were not educated by those professors but studied for themselves could become teachers with exceptionally well-balanced skills in English.

There may also be a problem in the system of licensing teachers. Students, unless they are exceptionally dull, can get a license easily if they have obtained a certain limited number of credits required in the kind of curriculum mentioned above. But university professors are responsible for this problem.

Besides the improvement of the curriculum for the students who are going to be English teachers, the re-training of English teachers in secondary schools is an urgent necessity for the improvement of English teaching in Japan. The only effective way of achieving it is to send as many secondary-school teachers as possible to English-speaking countries for a certain period of time. So long as they study English staying within the home country which is devoid of situations where they are compelled to use English, they study it in a vacuum or at best in artificially made-up situations. Intensive training courses for English proficiency which are being given for the English teachers of secondary schools by various local organizations are far short of meeting the requirement.

The fact that the English teachers are not particularly favored with opportunities to use English affects their psychological attitude toward learning English in the same way as it does that of their students, something which we will discuss below. This is also true of university professors. Most of them are occupied with academic work, but their papers are written mostly in Japanese.

e. Textbooks:

Of the many other external factors, we would like to mention only one here.

First of all the contents of textbooks for junior-high-school students are mostly disproportionate to the mental ages of the students. The books fail to stimulate the children's interests in the foreign things depicted in them. The children, highly sophisticated through other media in their own language, can easily get bored with them. They lack live natural contexts of language use. The situational constructions and linguistic contexts in them are very artificial, which might be caused partly by the sentence structure and vocabulary controls given by the Ministry of Education. If it is true that a foreign language learner can be motivated and interested in learning a language only by its use, Japanese students are handicapped in this respect, too.

The content of English-speaking culture in those textbooks is too often ambiguously depicted, and it would not provide even "a minimal basis for further study and probably and inadequate basis for terminal students to understand much about English speaking culture." (J. Brownell, op. cit., p. 68) How can junior-high-school teachers who are lacking in proficiency in English develop their students' abilities in English with these meager resources?

Textbooks for one senior-high-school English course consist of a set of three separate books in reading, grammar, and composition. One of the defects observed in those textbooks, when we look at them as a set, is their lack of connected content within the set. They are used separately for respective classes in reading, grammar, and composition. If grammar is separately

taught, the teaching of grammar itself will become an end, when it should be taught as an integral part of the whole course. At best the knowledge of grammar will help students only in their reading or writing practice to a minimal degree.

Another defect in the texts is their imbalance in providing materials for developing oral abilities. The readers give most space to readings, which are selections covering a wide range of topics, without paying much attention to dialogs. And if dialogs are contained in them, they do not appear to have been designed for oral production. They are a mere apology for oral practice.

Textbooks for college students are provided on commercial basis and selected by professors according to their interests or tastes. A survey, done by a certain publishing company, of the variety of English textbooks being used in 70 major colleges and universities in Japan shows that about 1700 different books are in use in those schools, and only two hundred of them are being used by more than one teacher. Moreover, only a few of them aim at developing language skills. The teachers seem to take it for granted that college students have developed the fundamental English skills satisfactorily in secondary schools. So they like to read novels, essays, sometimes material about other fields of knowledge in their classrooms. Reading will be the only thing they can do, with a large number of students in a class. Nevertheless the textbooks they use are mostly beyond their students' reading ability, and their contents are too specialized. The university professors must accept the criticism that they do not have definite objectives in teaching English to their students.

B. Internal factors:

While those factors we have mentioned so far, though directly connected with teaching English in Japan, are external, there are internal factors which inherently exist in the language to be learned and in the learners themselves. There are differences between the Japanese language and English in their structural and cultural aspects together with differences between Japanese and English speakers in their ways of thinking.

H. H. Stern stresses that "the failures in second-language teaching or learning are due, more than to anything else, to the complexity of language itself and of the second-language learning process."[1] Then, when two languages are as different as languages can be, as Japanese and English are, the degree of difficulty in learning such a language will be in proportion to the degree of the difference between them.

People may argue that the Japanese language contains great quantities of foreign elements, especially English ones in it, and they are right. But it is a superficial observation of the language. Those foreign elements are mostly the root forms of single words. For example, English verbs, adjectives and nouns all lose their proper inflectional or declensional endings as soon as they are taken into Japanese sentences. The fundamental syntactic structures of Japanese remain unaffected by those foreign elements, though it is true that novel sentences are always being generated in the language or without influences from foreign tongues. The Japanese people in earlier days developed their own way of reading classical Chinese when they imported it into their country.

They are still very quick to import anything if it is useful to them and to Japanize it if necessary. It may be a sort of national trait of the poeple.

This difference between Japanese and English is not simply a matter of linguistic difference since the ways of thinking of English speakers and Japanese speakers are also considered to differ to the same degree as the linguistic differences. It is needless to say that language learning involves cultural understanding. The following quotation will give you an idea of the difficulty in foreign language learning caused by cultural differences.

In the discussion of "those nonsupportive, contradictory, hostile elements of Japanese tradition which confront the study and use of English in contemporary Japan," John Brownell[2] quotes the 'irrationality' in Japanese culture described by Nakamura as one of its major tendencies. "He (=Nakamura) declares that there is neglect of logical rules, little intention to make expression and understanding logical and measurable, and reliance on the emotive rather that the cognitive. He believes that the lack of logical coherence in so much Japanese thought indicates an immaturity in Japanese logic. He points out that the Japanese language is well adapted to the emotive and intuitive and not so well adapted to the logical and cognitive, although it has potential. He says that there is a fondness for simple, symbolic expression and a dislike for complicated, structural thought. In his judgement, the Japanese people value human relations above all things and make little of objects; and, therefore, they have not looked squarely at objective reality as sharply distinguished from knowing subjects."[3]

Another factor is one of a psychological nature which latently exists in the mind of Japanese people. It is, as we noted above, a lack of seriousness toward learning a foreign language which appears in them usually without their being conscious of it. This negative motivation for learning a foreign language seems to have been caused by the lack of a real necessity of learning it among Japanese in general. Japanese do not live in a polyglot situation where at least two languages are spoken in their daily life, nor is the English language the medium of instruction at any level of school. In school they can conduct their academic work in the Japanese language. The degree of their dependence upon a foreign language is low even in higher education, not to speak of lower education. Students can afford to dispense with it at school or otherwise. However, to most junior and senior-high-school students English is one of the most important subjects of study, and they are very earnest in studying it though it may sound paradoxical. As a matter of fact, they are studying it to pass the entrance examinations to senior high schools or colleges and universities which almost without exception leads to a dead end.

Let us quote H. H. Stern here again and you will realize how very far away from a desirable situation for learning a foreign language Japanese learners of English are placed.

"A language comes to reality in contexts, situation, and actual speech events, in wanting to say something and wanting to listen. It fits into a social setting, it arouses feelings in the speaker and listener."[4] Most of the Japanese learners of English will never be involved in communication situations where they are compelled to produce speech acts.

This motivational drawback that hinders Japanese people from becoming serious toward learning English or any other foreign language derives from their monolingualism. It is deeply rooted in their minds and has been shaped over a long period of insularity. The Tokugawa Shogunate's policy of isolation may have been merely a manifestation of their insularism. Among other things the passive attitude and the unsociableness of Japanese toward alien people have even yet changed little preventing them from communicating positively with the outside world. The fanatic nationalism that dominated pre-war Japan can be considered to be a case in point in which the insularism expressed itself well. The idea that Japan was a divine land does not seem to have been unconnected with the insularism, either. This insularism is strong enough to generate a negative motivation toward learning a foreign language.

This is well indicated by what is observed in Japanese social life. In Japan silence is golden and a talkative person is regarded as superficial. Tacit understanding is made much of since it is not too difficult for people to make themselves understood with a minimal number of words. Therefore, the Japanese people's poverty in a foreign language is the price they have paid for the comfortableness they have at home now. In exchange for this comfort they have a hard time in associating themselves with foreign people when they are abroad. In a sense Japan may be a very happy island without any of the trouble that might be caused by multi-lingual populations. But this happiness is a very negative one which goes against human nature because they cannot experience that delight which one could feel when he has found in others what he does not have in himself.

In Communicating with foreigners too, Japanese people assume that they can make themselves understood by the foreigners as tacitly as by Japanese. We are often told that in international dealings such as negotiations in trade they are often perplexed to find it difficult, contrary to their expectation, to get across what they mean because they assume that the other party can understand them if they do not say what they mean in a minimum of words to make themselves understood, just as between two Japanese people.

This negative motivation toward learning English has become greater among young Japanese learners of English, with the miraculous resurgence of Japan's economy after the war. Those young people have come to be imbued with a sort of nationalistic sentiment slightly different from that of the prewar period. This sentiment is well expressed in their words, "What do we have to take the trouble of learning such a language as English for? Why don't foreign visitors to Japan try to speak Japanese?" It would be almost hopeless to teach English to younsters imbued with such a sentiment.

These are the situations which are almost impossible to change for the better simply by improving instruction methods and other external conditions related to teaching English.

These situations of helplessness could be taken, from a different point of view, as caused by a change in the relative importance of English to Japanese people, especially at the individual level.

Now that English and Western civilization have nearly completed their secular mission of converting the people of the Island to their creed, favored by the people's receptive mind - though it will be proven only by history whether

the conversion will turn out to be an access to a promised land or not - English has come to be regarded as useless so far as it is concerned with individuals' daily affairs, including what they learn at school.

Here we have to hasten to add that the role English played in the formation of modern Japan was that of a tool with which she could absorb or adopt every Western idea and thought available. Japan was always and still is a receiver, but not a giver. There was never an exchange of anything between the West and Japan. We could not call such one-way traffic communication. This is the case even today. The number of the people who come to study in Japan from the countries Japan made every effort to catch up with in the past is next to zero whereas quite a few people go to study in those countries from Japan. Water flows from high to low. For that receptive purpose reading ability was sufficient. Therefore, developing reading ability was a primary or rather the only concern in teaching English, especially in an isolated country like Japan. Students of English studied Western things and ideas through books at home except for a select few who could study abroad.

It is not too much to say that in prewar Japan there was no teaching of oral English except in a very few cases where H. E. Palmer's Oral Method was faithfully put into practice. This tendency still continues even today, and to make matters even worse the need for a reading ability in English has decreased. What is promoting the drift of the situation in this direction is an enormous number of translations, which are supposed to be unparalleled by any other country in the world. Not only a great many classics but new foreign books appear in a constant stream of Japanese translations year after year. Even students majoring in English literature or linguistics can conduct their research work in translations if they want to and quite a few of them do so. Most classes and seminars in those disciplines, as we said above, are conducted in Japanese.

Under these circumstances the purpose of teaching English as a matter of course becomes ambiguous. Controversies which have raged around the past few years reflect the state of affairs. They are divided roughly into two arguments: "English should be taught for practical purposes" and "English should be taught for its cultural value." Even among the people engaged in teaching English there is no consensus about the purpose of English teaching in Japan. Though the primary objective in teaching a foreign language could not be anything other than providing its learners with a tool for communication, it is doubtful whether it is possible to teach English only for a utilitarian purpose in Japan since there are, as we mentioned above repeatedly, few opportunities to utilize the practical skills in English there. Nevertheless, teaching English for its cultural value cannot be the primary objective since it is what is acquired as certain by-products.

In those situations where English is being taught as a means of communication, an abstract discussion about the purpose of English teaching may not arise among either students or teachers since it is a necessity for which they have no alternative.

III. Has the importance of English to Japan decreased?

Has the importance of English to Japan really diminished? The answer to this question would be both yes and no. While the function of English as a receptive

tool for adopting Western civilization has certainly decreased, the other function of it as a means of international communication has come to assume greater significance for Japan. This may be true of many other countries. In today's world where international relationships are becoming closer and more complicated, Japan alone cannot stand aloof from international scenes any longer especially because she is wholly dependent upon foreign countries for her survival. Her foreign trade through friendly relations with other countries is her lifeline. English which has taken on the ambivalent nature of being at once the first language of English-speaking countries and a semi-international language is an indispensable tool for Japan as well as for other countries for carrying out international affairs. Hence the English language is a second language to Japan and many other countries whose survival in the world community depends upon its acquisition. Thus the national objective of English teaching in those countries will become definite.

Here lies one of the major purposes of English teaching in Japan for the future. This does not, however, deny the value of the teaching of English or any other foreign language to all students as part of general education for the development of the whole person of the students. The problem is that a secondary purpose of gaining what we called above the cultural value has been given priority so far in teaching English in Japan, i.e. for the secondary purpose under those unfavorable circumstances and if English cannot be an optional subject or omitted from the curriculum in spite of the inefficiency of teaching it in view of the desirable effects that it is expected to have upon Japanese insularism, we will have to design another program besides the present one to cope with the new demand for English with which Japan is now faced.

Although we are not in a position to offer any good ideas or suggestions for that program here and now, what should be kept in mind in designing such a program is that communication is two-way traffic. Needless to say, the specific development of the productive abilities of speaking and writing, which have been improperly neglected so far, should receive more attention. Well-balanced development of all the four skills should be the aim of teaching a foreign language. Hearing and speaking abilities are tied together as the two sides of the coin and can be developed at the same time. The reading ability, which can never be said to be sufficient in Japanese learners of English either, should be further developed since it is the most solid and enduring foundation upon which human intellectural activities at higher levels are to a great extent dependent. If it were not for printed matter, mankind would not have his civilization today. Reading ability is still the most important skill the greatest number of learners can have the easiest access to. On the other hand speaking is the hardest ability to acquire where there is no necessity to use it, as in Japan. This condition in terms of situations for developing it cannot be ignored. Therefore the key to success of the program is heavily dependent upon external conditions when it is executed rather than on the contents of the program itself.

Considering the external difficulties in acquiring the speaking ability and the great sacrifice it requires of other subjects of study, it is useless to attempt to develop it in all Japanese learners of English though everybody rates it highest when he talks about communication. Only a small number of people will really need oral proficiency in English and will be able to acquire it. Those few who have good command of English are the people who were lucky enough to study abroad or to have special contacts with native speakers of

English at home or are exceptionally gifted people in language learning. In this connection a certain Japanese statesman suggested that 5 percent of the present Japanese population learning English should acquire high oral proficiency in it. It is still too many. More than ten million students from the junior high school through the 2nd year of the college level. At the college level alone as many as one million are studying English. If it were possible to equip all of the fifty thousand students with a speaking ability, would it really be necessary to do so? Do they all need the speaking skill in preference to all other skills? It may be partly true that for a mountain to have a high peak its foot has to stretch wide. But it is obvious that the analogy does not apply here.

Indeed today there are a huge number of comings and goings of people between countries for various purposes. Here in Los Angeles we see a lot of Japanese people who have come here on tours arranged by travel agents and students who have come to study for a short time for such purposes as an intensive course of English. And one of the things they never fail to mention during their stay here or after they are back home is that they were frustrated to find their English of no use in making themselves understood. So they quickly turn on English teachers to blame them for their teaching of useless English at school and cry out about the importance of the speaking ability. If they had a better command of English, they could enjoy their travel or stay here better. But if they were better speakers of English, could they make any contribution to cultural exchange? The writer has doubts about it. Most of them do not have a good knowledge of their own culture. They do not have anything to give in exchange. How often the writer has been disgusted at himself to find himself so ignorant of his own country!

And also any exchange can be done only on equal terms between the two parties concerned. Most of the people except those in businesses have come here for sightseeing or studying. They still are only the recipients of things American. Here again only one-way traffic can be expected to occur. But it is not only they who are responsible for this unusual state of affairs. The writer is often surprised to know that Americans in general do not know as much about Japan as we do about the United States. This coincides with the fact that there are only a few books about Japan even in English for a general public to read here in comparison with the great quantity of books about the U.S. and other Western countries either in English or Japanese in Japan, where cultural exchange is possible through books and magazines. This is good evidence that peoples of advanced countries in general are not ready to learn anything from other countries. Unless there is a positive attitude to understand each other of either side, neither real communication nor cultural exchange without cultural biases will occur.

Some people will bring forth a counterargument against this that there is no specific way of exchanging cultures, but it is done through every kind of contact between people of different cultures. It might be true that it does not take place in any explicit form but it is brought about by such natural contacts.

So far we may seem to have been far from emphasizing the need of the oral ability, which was not our intention. We just wanted to show how difficult it is to acquire the oral ability and exchange cultures. Furthermore too much emphasis on developing the speaking ability is sure to cause a deemphasis upon developing the reading and writing abilities. Even in the vernacular people

are going farther and farther away from reading, the popularlity of T.V. and other mass media distracting their attention from books. This will in the long run lead to an impoverished state of thoughts.

Finally we would like to introduce to you what five Japanese visiting professors at UCLA expect of English teaching at the college level. Their majors are medicine, pedagogics, engineering, plant physiology, and economics.

Two of them who are majors in medicine and pedagogics desired us English teachers to develop reading and writing abilities in students to a greater degree, commenting that the way of communicating in one's mother tongue should be different from that in a foreign language and that in the latter written communication is more appropriate and satisfactory.

Two others of engineering and plant physiology wanted us to develop students' abilities of oral production, especially about academic matters in their special fields.

The professor of economics wished us to equip students with better abilities in reading and aural comprehension besides elementary skills of oral production.

When we consider their wishes or desires for teaching English at the college level, they seem to be more concerned about the use of English in carrying out their academic work rather than conventional affairs in ordinary life. This requires a special English teaching program for special purposes. If students can communicate well in situations of daily life, they cannot necessarily do so with the same fluency in their academic work. In the latter case the fluency presupposes that what is going to be expressed is well organized and coherent in its content. On the other hand, daily speech is full of fragmentary utterances, grammatically anomalous strings, etc. And these imperfections and anomalies are permissible because their comprehensibility is greatly helped by contexts and physical situations where it occurs. Thus we are a little dubious about the propriety of oral practice for developing the reading or writing ability above a certain level of proficiency. Rather, more practice in reading and writing related to students' special field will be at once more helpful and necessary. Needless to say, in those fields the reading and writing abilities as such are more important to the majority of students than oral skills.

In order to meet those special needs well-balanced development in all the skills of English should be the aim to be reached hopefully by the end of the intermediate level of senior high school, and if English teaching at the college level can be conducted on the basis, it can be concentrated on developing particular language skills selectively in accordance with various special needs of students.

FOOTNOTES

[1]"Psycholinguistics and Second-Language Teaching," English Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 15.

[2]John Brownell, op. cit., p. 23.

[3]John Brownell, op. cit., p. 22.

[4]H. H. Stern, op. cit., p. 16.

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ABSTRACTS OF MATESL THESES

The Effect of Vocabulary Clues, Content Familiarity and English Proficiency on Cloze Scores

Raymond Henry Moy
(Professor Earl J. Rand, Chairman)

This study investigated the effects of vocabulary clues, content familiarity, and language proficiency on the cloze scores of 311 subjects at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

All of the Ss were studying English as a second language, with a wide range of language proficiencies. The subjects were categorized into two main groups: those enrolled in remedial English courses (N=223) and those either majoring or minoring in English (N=88).

For the content matter variable, three passages were selected: one from a science text, one from a literature text, and one from a history text. The passages were rated as having equal readabilities by the Dale-Chall formula. Each of these passages had three forms depending on the number of vocabulary definitions given in the margins. One of the forms had all unfamiliar words defined, a second had half this number defined, and a third had none defined. In all, there were nine separate cloze tests to which subjects were randomly assigned.

A three-way ANOVA (3 content areas X 3 vocabulary forms X 2 proficiency levels) was performed on the cloze score percentages, and all three variables had significant effects. The science scores were significantly higher than the literature or history scores, the scores of the full-clue forms were significantly higher than those of the no-clue forms, and the scores of the majors and minors were significantly higher than those of the remedial students.

Each of these main effects was interpreted in terms of how well each cloze test separated the two proficiency groups. It was found that the science passage was a poor discriminator and that the full-clue forms were better discriminators than the no-clue forms. When tests were scored by an acceptable alternative method rather than the exact word method, discrimination improved for five tests, was equally good for three, and decreased for one.

Problems of Romance Language Speakers Learning English: Theory and Practice in Lexical Analysis

Stan Mitchell Levinson
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

Lexicon has not been a preferred area of research for MATESL students. Perhaps this is because the nature of a lexicon is such that one cannot easily schematize it as one can profitably do with phonology, morphology and syntax. Since the interest in lexicon for TESL is to enable teachers to understand lexical problems, a useful approach seems to be a contrastive one. The use-

fulness of contrastive analysis is still open to debate, yet its application to the particular field of this study is obvious. As Romance languages have many cognate words with English which are not exactly the same in meaning, interference errors would seem to be easily predictable.

My interest was partially in trying to find a more subtle contrastive basis between the lexicons of Romance languages and English which might explain lexical errors in general terms, rather than the specific enumeration of the correspondence of individual pairs of words. The search did not prove to be very fruitful, consequently I attempted a series of error analyses which might shed some light on the nature of lexical errors made by Romance language speakers. I found interference to be the major cause of lexical errors, and proposed a rudimentary categorization based on a division between interference and non-interference errors, with subdivisions to further characterize the errors. While the study was carried out with Romance language speakers, it could have broader implications if the schema developed proved applicable to other language backgrounds as well.

The Separation Phenomenon in English Phrasal Verbs: Double Trouble

Susan Catherine Ulm
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

This thesis attempts to identify the factors involved in the separation phenomenon in phrasal verbs in English. Phrasal verbs are verbs like look at or look up that seem to form a semantic and syntactic unit. The main factors affecting the separation phenomenon - why English speakers say look at it but look it up - seem to be the post-verbal element (certain ones are only separable or only inseparable), the phonological shape of the verb, and a series of semantic features associated with the post-verbal element. Also investigated were the factors that influence the permutation of the post-verbal element around the object of the verb; the apparent causes of the shift from look the word up to look up the word seem to be: the length of the direct object NP, previous mention of the direct object, and stereotyping. In addition, suggestions for teaching phrasal verbs, including a sequence of structures, are given.

Derivational Suffixation in ESL and University Reading Materials at UCLA

Eiko Priscilla Kikawada
(Professor Earl J. Rand, Chairman)

This study investigates the comparative frequency of thirty-three derivational suffixes in twenty-six hundred sample sentences from thirteen ESL readers and thirteen university textbooks used at the University of California, Los Angeles.

The data are collected with the help of a computer generated reverse concordance in which the sample sentences were arranged so that the suffixes were isolated for ease of counting in Final and Non-Final position. Computer generated histograms illustrate the frequency of each suffix.

Each suffix is discussed in terms of its origin, function, meanings. Then its frequency in the ESL and university materials is compared. Finally, the sequence of frequency from the lowest to the highest ESL level is examined.

The result showed that all thirty-three suffixes occurred in Final position and twenty-one of these occurred in Non-Final position. Nineteen suffixes (out of fifty-four) appeared in the highest ESL level materials, either in Final or in Non-Final position, with a frequency equal to or greater than that in the university texts. Only six suffixes, however, display a gradual progression of frequency moving from the lowest to the highest level of the ESL materials.

Recommendations are made for utilizing the data gathered to make ESL materials more relevant. Suggestions for further research are also included.

Affixation in English Word Formation and Applications for TESL

Mary Ann Willis
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

Despite its importance to the language learner, vocabulary is all too often neglected in the ESL classroom. One of the areas of vocabulary that receives very little attention is affixation. Certain affixes are used with some frequency in modern English word formation. It is argued that these highly productive affixes should be distinguished from affixes that are only occasionally used in forming new words. Criteria are given for distinguishing these two categories of affixes, and indications of degrees of productivity of individual affixes are provided by test data. Implications for pedagogy arising from research results are discussed. These include a suggested teaching sequence for productive affixes.

Improving Advanced ESL Students' Reading Comprehension: An Analysis and Evaluation of Materials and Procedures

Marjorie Creswell Walsleben
(Professor T. P. Gorman, Chairman)

This study records the development of materials and procedures used at UCLA during the Fall, Winter, and Spring Quarters (1974-75) in an experimental reading comprehension improvement course taught to advanced ESL students. Approved by the Office of Academic Change and Curriculum Development, the course was designed to acquaint students with three basic types of reading--termed Directed, Exploratory and Study--and to enable them to develop and adjust reading rates and strategies to specific purposes for reading; in short, to develop reading flexibility.

The Fall Quarter focused primarily on materials preparation and resulted in the development of 10 reading lessons. Both the Winter and Spring Quarters were designated as being experimental in nature, with a total of 66 students serving in the Experimental Group and 39 students in the Control Groups.

Substantial revision of the materials took place between the Fall and Winter Quarters and again following completion of the Spring Quarter. As a result of classroom testing and experimentation, the reading course entails 50 hours of instruction and covers 235 pages of text, an advanced reading skills workbook for students of English as a second language or dialect.

It was found that students can improve in their ability to read unsimplified college-level prose with reasonable speed and with increased

comprehension. At the time of the pre-test, the Winter Experimental and Control Groups were reasonably alike, but at the time of the post-test, the two groups were significantly different. The course of instruction had a statistically significant effect on the mean post-test scores. Tests of statistical inference showed that the Experimental Groups out-performed the Control Groups on post-tests during both Winter and Spring Quarters. Test data revealed that, even controlling for initial differences, the Experimental Group scored significantly higher both Winter ($F=15.6$, $df = 1,71$, Prob. = 0.0002) and Spring ($F = 11.2$, $df = 1,28$, Prob. = 0.0023) Quarters.

Study Reading questions involving ambiguity and the ability to make inferences were the types of questions most frequently answered incorrectly by up to 51% of the students.

The Relation of Cognitive Style and Hemisphere Preference to Deductive and Inductive Second Language Learning

Dayle Davidson Hartnett
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

Language learning research shows no clear-cut superiority of one method of teaching a language over another. Research dealing with brain lateralization, conjugate lateral eye movement, and cognitive styles seeks to resolve this problem by showing that different kinds of learners exist and succeed at different methods. Bakan has demonstrated that the direction of initial eye movement in response to thought-provoking questions is an indication of cerebral hemisphere dominance; right eye movement reflects left hemisphere thought (propositional, analytic, linear), and left eye movement reflects right hemisphere thought (analogical, inductive, synthetic).

Students in the deductive Bull method and the inductive Barcia method of Spanish instruction were given pre and post proficiency tests and an eye movement test to determine hemisphere preference. The findings are: (a) Students in the deductive Bull method show more right eye movement i.e. left hemisphere preference than students in the inductive Barcia method; students in the inductive Barcia method show more left eye movement i.e. right hemisphere preference than students in the deductive Bull method. (b) Students know whether they learn best deductively or inductively and choose the method that complements their particular cognitive style. (c) Bull left hemisphere students make the highest gains and out-perform Bull right hemisphere students, and Barcia right hemisphere students make the highest gains and outperform Barcia left hemisphere students. (d) There is a significant interaction between hemisphere preference and method when the covariates of sex, pretest, major, and years of previous Spanish instruction are controlled.

If a student is in a class where the method is in opposition to his learning style, he may not learn as much as in a classroom which complements his learning style. Therefore, two suggestions can be made. If a school offers the student a choice, the difference between the deductive strategy and the inductive strategy should be clearly explained. In classroom situations where this choice is not offered, the instructor should utilize different methods of instruction because different learners will be present.

Cross-Ethnic Attitudes of Anglo Students in Spanish Immersion, Bilingual, and English Schooling

Ellyn Louise Waldman
(Professor Andrew Cohen, Chairman)

Little research has been done on the effects of different approaches to language instruction on attitude. The proliferation of bilingual-bicultural schooling has prompted a closer look at the relationship between different schooling models and program outcomes. For example, it may be that certain types of bilingual programs better promote cultural understanding and perhaps even biculturalism among children.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationaship between different approaches to language learning and the enhancement of cross-cultural attitudes. There were four groups of children involved in the study. The first group were the Pilot and Follow-up Groups of the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program. These students have been in the immersion program since kindergarten and were, at the time of the study, in the third and second grades respectively.

The second group of children were in a bilingual, Title VII program and were also in the second and third grade. The third group was from an ethnically-mixed, English school setting. The fourth group was from an ethnically-homogeneous, English school setting. In all, 110 second and third grade Anglo students were involved in the study. The groups represented varying degrees of exposure to the Mexican American culture and to the Spanish language.

Two instruments were administered to assess the cultural attitudes and stereotypic notions of the students. The first instrument was the Cross-Cultural Attitude Inventory which assesses students attitudes toward the Mexican American and Anglo cultures. The second instrument was a matched guise instrument which assesses students' stereotypic notions about Spanish and English speakers.

The results of the study indicated that the students in the immersion program had more positive attitudes toward the Mexican American culture and toward Spanish speakers than did the other students. The immersion students all had the same positive attitudes toward the Anglo culture and English speakers as the students in the other groups.

It was concluded that there could be many reasons for the immersion students highly positive attitudes toward Spanish speakers and the Mexican American culture. It was also concluded that a great deal of research remains to be done in the area of the effect of different approaches to language instruction on cultural attitudes.

A Practical American English Pronunciation Course for Speakers of Hebrew

Yael Bejarano
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

This series of lessons is a systematic pronunciation course for Israelis. It is based on a contrastive analysis of the phonological systems of Hebrew

and English followed by an error analysis of tape recordings made by twenty Israelis taking a diagnostic pronunciation test. The analysis helped pinpoint those areas of difficulties that Israelis have when they learn English. The pronunciation lessons are designed for junior high shcool classes in Israel, i.e., after the students have had two years of English. At this level the students' proficiency in English is sufficient for the needs of the course, and yet it is not too late to integrate a systematic pronunciation course to help avoid formation of bad habits into the English teaching program set by the Ministry of Education in Israel. The lessons could also be adapted to the high school level, and taught as part of two out of the five English lessons the classes have in a week.

An Inquiry Into Community Attitudes Towards Bilingual-Bicultural Education

Samuel Yohannes Manna
(Professor Thomas Gorman, Chairman)

The notion of bilingual-bicultural education has won wide support among educators, legislators, and the Spanish speaking community in the United States. The main objective of this study is to make a survey in the Pico-Union community in Los Angeles of the community's attitudes towards bilingualism, biculturalism and bilingual education.

In the final analysis, this study has the goal of determining the desirability of a bilingual education program in the Pico-Union community. In the process of the study, community input is regarded as an important aspect in order to elicit relevant information regarding such a program.

Toward a Systematization of English Modals

Kay Ellen Hannah
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

This thesis is an exploration of the English modals with an eye to categorizing their meanings in such a way as to be useful to the teacher of English as a second language. The methods of exploration include reviewing the existing literature on modals, analysis of a spoken and a written corpus of languages and two context sensitive tests of proposed meaning categories.

The investigation yielded the following broad categories of meanings for the modals. These are explained more fully in chapters two and three.

Epistemic (probability) - must, should, ought to, may, might, could

Ability - can, could, be able to

Prediction - will, going to (gonna), would

Willingness (volition) - will, going to, would

Habitual action - will, would

Hypothetical situation - would, could

Permission - can, could, may

Necessity (obligation) - must, should, have to (hafta), ought to, (have) got to (gotta)

Request - will, would, can, could

The study concluded with some suggestions for the teacher of English as a second language and some questions that may merit further exploration.

Attitudes and English Proficiency of Soviet Immigrants

Judith Tanka
(Professor Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

The study examined the relationship between the English proficiency of Soviet immigrants in Los Angeles and their attitudes toward American culture.

The principal instrument of inquiry was an original attitude questionnaire consisting of 54 items. The items focused on differences between Soviet and American cultures. These differences were based on observations about the two cultures obtained from comparative sociological literature, informants and from the personal experience of the author.

The questionnaire was administered to 45 Soviet immigrants in Russian and to a matching population of 45 Americans in English. In addition, all Soviet subjects took an oral English proficiency test, using pictural stimuli as the method of measurement.

Scores on the English proficiency test, the attitude questionnaire and data on various background characteristics were correlative for the Soviet sample. Among all variables measured, Soviet immigrants' educational level and age predict best their English proficiency. Correlation was also found between American-like attitudes (especially toward family life) and proficiency in English.

A comparison between Soviet and American responses to the questionnaire showed that the two groups did not share the same attitudes toward 36 of the 54 items. Areas of culture which elicited different attitudes from the two groups were discussed and suggestions for their use in the ESL classroom were given.

A Comparative Study of Japanese and English Noun Usage with Respect to Number Distinction

Nobuko Sugamoto
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

Among the most persistent mistakes made by Japanese learning English is the incorrect use of nouns with respect to grammatical NUMBER distinction. This happens because of differences in noun usage in the two languages.

An analysis was made in this study of both the syntactic and the semantic differences between English and Japanese to determine the causes for the errors in each problem area. The syntactic comparison reveals that NUMBER distictions in English such as count vs. noncount, singular vs. plural, and generic vs. nongeneric are nonexistent in Japanese. The semantic comparison discloses divergent concepts of countability in Japanese and English.

In Japanese countability is not a categorical constraint on a noun. In English it is basically a lexical feature of a noun. Both languages have in common a concept of countability subject to physical divisibility of objects and to the specificity of concepts. English also has other features that determine noun countability such as substance and collective mass.

The comparison concludes with nine points of contrast, each of which concentrates on one learning problem. These contrasts are utilized in the chapter on error prediction and analysis. The material used in the analysis was collected from compositions and utterances produced by Japanese students at UCLA. A sample lesson for introducing the use of noncountable nouns is also included.

Audiovisual Media in Teaching English as a Foreign Language

Nora Elena Villoria
(Professor Evelyn R. Hatch, Chairman)

This project involves the development of audiovisual materials to be used with Venezuelan university students at the intermediate level of English. Ten lessons to teach several tenses of the English verb were planned and the audiovisual materials for each were produced. The main feature of each of these lessons is the use of media to introduce dialogs, grammar explanations and exercises.

A description of how the materials were created and how they should be used precedes the lessons. These chapters will hopefully help other teachers develop their own audiovisual materials.

An evaluation of these lessons is also described. This will be carried out in an English class for university students in Venezuela. The lessons, however, can be modified and adapted to different learning situations.

A Study of the Acquisition of Ten Syntactic Structures and Grammatical Morphemes by an Adult Second Language Learner; Some Methodological Implications

Rina Gal Shapira
(Professor Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

This study is a report of a longitudinal observational study of one Spanish-speaking adult learning English as a second language in a "natural" environment. In addition an account is given of a small-scale experiment in eliciting speech conducted with the same subject. The acquisition of ten syntactic structures and grammatical morphemes of English was researched. Four research questions were asked: (1) Is there evidence for language acquisition in the traditional sense of acquisition of grammar? If so, (2) what is the subject's order of acquisition? (3) Is there a difference in performance between the observational and elicited data? If so, (4) what are the implications of this difference?

Three sets of observational data were collected by means of "conversation-interview" over an eighteen-month period. Contrary to expectations, no acquisition was evidenced of any one of the ten structures and morphemes studied. Consequently Question (2) became impertinent. Three measures for eliciting

speech were used: the Bilingual Syntax Measure, Imitation and Translation. A small number of differences in performance between spontaneous and elicited speech were depicted, which were found to be controlled by the measures used. Since the controls built into the measures did not affect the results significantly, the validity of the measures is not challenged. However, it is strongly advised not to abandon the "conversation-interview" technique for data collection, since that seems to be the only way to elicit speech which is most characteristic of the subject's performance. As it has been revealed in this study, the subject did not acquire the grammar of English. Still a great improvement has been noticed in the subject's "fluency" or communicative skills. This could not have been shown in the event that only speech eliciting measures were used.

Developing Communicative Competence in Intermediate ESL Learners

Carolyn Feuille
(Professor Diane Larsen Freeman, Chairman)

The purpose of this study was to develop the communicative competence of intermediate level, academic ESL students. Communicative competence involves acquiring not only the linguistic skills of a language, but also the pragmatic elements, as well as knowing how to use these skills in various contexts.

A communicative curriculum was designed to enhance the oral communication skills of intermediate ESL students. The materials and techniques were tested in an English 33A class at UCLA. During the study the subjects received regular instruction in linguistic skills, integrated with various communicative activities conducted both in the classroom and in the local environment. All the communicative activities required sharing of new information and provided opportunities for students to use their English skills to communicate. Procedures for the activities are included.

The primary means of evaluating the communicative curriculum was an affective questionnaire which was administered at the end of the ten-week instruction period. In addition a pre- and post-test were administered to the subjects to determine the improvement in their communicative competence during the study. The results of the evaluation indicate that most of the materials were successful in terms of interest, improving English, and usefulness in learning about the local environment and American life. The testing results indicate that the subjects' ability to communicate in English increased during the ten-week period. It is concluded that this improvement in communicative skills can be attributed partly to the students' exposure to the communicative curriculum, although this was not verified in the study by means of a control group.

Suggestions for facilitating communication in the ESL classroom and for further research in evaluating and testing for communicative competence have been provided.

Some Problematic Grammar Areas for ESL Teachers

Regina Irene Covitt
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

This thesis attempts to define the five areas of English grammar which

have been most difficult for ESL instructors to teach. The initial step in identifying these areas involved a review of grammar questions sent in to English language teaching journals. As a further means of pinpointing grammatical difficulties, interviews were conducted with twenty-five ESL teachers. The teachers interviewed were drawn from the UCLA program, as well as from adult schools in the Los Angeles area. Results of the journal question review and teacher interviews showed the top five areas to be articles, prepositions, phrasal verbs, conditionals, and verbals. An annotated review was made of the treatment these areas receive in several ESL textbooks and reference grammars. In addition, an annotated list is presented of other potentially helpful sources for teaching and understanding these areas.

The Influence of Visualization Exercises on the Ability of Speakers of English as a Second Language to Write with Emotional Impact

Roger Dixon Peterson
(Professor Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

The brain has two major modes of processing information, one verbal and one imaginal. There are differences in the kind of process involved in each, as well as in the kind of material processed. This has been examined in research on brain lateralization, propositional and appositional thought, language and imagery, and psychoanalysis.

This thesis studies the relationship between imagery, language, and creativity. With respect to a second language, it hypothesizes that acquisition may be facilitated if meaning is processed through the imaginal symbolic system and then expressed through the verbal symbolic system using the second language. It further hypothesizes that the use of imagery will produce significant positive effects in the accuracy of grammar and the creativity of expression found in compositions written by second language learners.

A treatment and a control group were formed from students in a low intermediate ESL class. Each group wrote five compositions during the quarter. The treatment group used a special visualization exercise to assist them in exploring the topic they were to write about; the control group thought about their topic. Compositions were scored for emotional impact and grammar. There were no significant differences between groups; the visualization exercises produced no measurable effects. However, some anecdotal evidence lends support to the idea that imagery may be of some use in facilitating second language production.

Sufficient theoretical and empirical evidence exists to merit further examination of the relationship between language and imagery. More research is needed on the nature of right hemisphere (imaginal) processing and how this can be developed. New visual techniques are needed for testing hypotheses. No single theoretical approach is capable of fully exploring this field of study; utilization of the whole spectrum of approaches is encouraged.

Markedness and the Usage of Comparatives

Donna Adrienne Ssensalo
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

This study examines the role of markedness theory in the selection of comparative adjectives. Of particular importance is the identification of

conditions or rules that govern the choice of marked and unmarked comparatives and which, when properly applied, can improve the ESL student's usage of these structures.

Markedness theory, as defined at the outset of the paper, refers to the degree of flexibility demonstrated by a linguistic structure in diverse environments. This definition is applied to four groups of comparatives, identified here as comparatives of perception, evaluation, measurement and emotion. Those comparatives which belong to the measurement of perception categories are referred to as being unmarked or marked; those from the evaluation and emotive groups are designated as being either positive or negative.

Past experiments demonstrating the workings of markedness theory are reviewed with the purpose of isolating several semantic, syntactic and situational factors that are potentially important in making a decision involving the use of comparatives. One of these factors--that concerning the relative incompatibility of the marked morpheme less with negatively prefixed comparatives--is subsequently tested in a supplementary experiment.

The bulk of the study, however, involves the categorization and analysis of spontaneous and prepared discourse containing comparatives extracted from The White House Transcripts and from television and magazine advertisements. The statements extracted are scrutinized so that conditions making one particular comparative more suitable than its marked or unmarked counterpart can be isolated. In this section, five tendencies affecting the choice of a markedness value are identified, as are reasons affecting the choice of a marked, rather than unmarked comparative in advertisements.

In the final portion of the paper, general teaching suggestions reflecting the above findings are offered.

Conversational Analysis and Its Relevance to the Teaching of English as a Second Language

Irene M. Daden
(Professor Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

This thesis represents an overview of, and an introduction to, conversational analysis, a new field of inquiry on which few publications have appeared in print as yet. Since ESL teachers and textbook writers are relatively unaware of the existence of conversational analysis and consequently are ignorant of the rules that prevail in conversational interaction (other than the intuitively obvious ones), and since the published literature in the field is extremely scarce, this thesis is meant to acquaint teachers and textbook writers with some of the rules of conversation as well as to point out new directions for further research and teacher training.

This project is based on the published literature and on unpublished materials on the subject matter, on lecture notes and tapes from courses taken and audited over the past year, and on some of the author's own work in conversational analysis. The cited excerpts from conversations were gleaned from the various publications, from lectures, from the author's collection, and from student transcriptions of conversations for seminar purposes. The

topics of the structure of conversation discussed are: the turn-taking system, the sequencing unit "adjacency pair," the overall structure of conversation, and the repair system. However, none of them can be treated exhaustively within the scope of this thesis. The last chapter suggests applications of some of the findings to the teaching of English as a second language but leaves methods and teaching techniques open for further study and research.

The Use of Two Observation Instruments in Supervised ESL Teaching

Kathleen McMillan Bailey
(Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia, Chairman)

This study was undertaken to determine whether student teachers trained in the use of the ESL Observation Instrument would show significantly greater improvement in their teaching behavior than student teachers exposed to a less structured, self-generated observation instrument.

The UCLA section of ESL 380-K (Supervised Student Teaching) was divided into a control group and an experimental group for treatment. The experimental group was given a training program of observation and evaluation using the ESL Observation Instrument. The control group developed the Observation/Feedback Procedure, which involved participant observation. Both groups of subjects were surveyed to gain affective information about the two instruments.

Before and after the treatment the student teachers were videotaped teaching mini-lessons to foreign students. The videotaped lessons were randomized and presented to a panel of six raters. Three raters used the ESL Observation Instrument to evaluate the lessons, and three used a global five-point scale of teacher effectiveness. The Mann-Whitney U Test was employed to determine the level of significance of the results. In analyzing the data no significant differences were found between the teaching behavior of the two groups.

As a corollary to this research, the UCLA/TESL faculty members were surveyed to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the ESL Observation Instrument. Their suggestions and those of the research subjects were used in revising the instrument, which is presented in the appendices.